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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE KEY IN THE WINDOW:
MARGINAL NOTES IN BUNYAN'S NARRATIVES

BY

© MAXINE HANCOCK

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Edmonton, Alberta
SPRING 1992

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Maxine Hancock

P.O. Box 160
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TOB 2X0

22 April 1992

Nor do thou go to work without my Key,
(In mysteries men soon do lose their way)
And also turn it right if thou wouldst know
My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plow.
It lies there in the window, *fare thee well,* The margent.
My next may be to ring thy Passing-Bell.

John Bunyan, "To the Reader,"
The Holy War

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **THE KEY IN THE WINDOW: MARGINAL NOTES IN BUNYAN'S NARRATIVES** submitted by **MAXINE HANCOCK** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** in **ENGLISH**.

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ABSTRACT

The conventional seventeenth-century presentation of text accompanied by marginal notes is put to effective use by John Bunyan in his fictional narratives. The text-plus-notes format is mimetic of the very act of reading allegory, which requires the ability to read on one plane and interpret on another virtually simultaneously. The multitudinous references to the Bible open the narratives to the rich scriptural intertext which is everywhere the backdrop against which the narratives are played out. The notes also afford to Bunyan the privilege of serving as a intermediate reader between the narrative text and the actual reader, commenting upon, summarizing and generalizing, and emphasizing aspects of the narrative.

Bunyan's habits of reading and attitudes towards text are first examined by means of the record of his reading development in Grace Abounding. The convention of marginal notes is then reviewed through an examination of representative literature of the period, particularly attending to books which it is certain or likely that Bunyan read. A theory of the form and function of marginal notes as Bunyan used them is proposed, with four functions identified (to refer, to index, to interpret, and to generalize) and two effects on adjacent text described (modification and amplification through text-reflexive and text-extensive notes, respectively). Some of the special aural and visual effects created or cued by the marginal notes, and the games and riddles which they produce are examined, with examples drawn from all four fiction narratives, *The Pilgrim's Progress, First Part*, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, *The Holy War*, and *The Pilgrim's Progress, Second Part*. Finally, by means of a close reading of the opening paragraph of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, an attempt is made to demonstrate how a full realization of the text is impossible without taking into account the marginal notes, especially the biblical references.

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It has been my special privilege to prepare this work while completing doctoral studies under the direction of Dr. James F. Forrest, distinguished Bunyan scholar and editor. His vast knowledge of the entire field of Renaissance literature and criticism has been of inestimable value to me; his interest in my investigation and his constant encouragement have been the wind in my sail. Other members of my committee in the Department of English at the University of Alberta, Dr. Patricia Demers and Dr. Greg Hollingshead have been generous with their time and helpful in their reading and response to my work. Dr. Chris Drummond has also kindly read and responded to this work as it progressed. Dr. Juliet McMaster and Dr. Patricia Demers, successive Chairs of Graduate Study in the Department, and two of the bluestocking fellowship to which I might aspire, have been continuously encouraging and supportive, demonstrating their belief in me and in my potential as a scholar, recognizing as valid my womanly career path in which the opportunity for academic inquiry was delayed by other major commitments such as raising a family, teaching, and free-lance writing.

My research and writing have been generously

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Undergirding my reading and study is a knowledge of the Bible begun in childhood, and an early acquaintance with Bunyan. For the transmission to me of this heritage, literary and spiritual, I am grateful to my parents, Max and Ruth Runions.

And what can I say about the support of my husband, Campbell, for whom my studies have meant living in two places, with an often-distracted wife? Simply that his steadfast love and encouragement have sustained me. I am blessed among women, and I am grateful.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA MAXINE HANCOCK

SPRING 1992

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INTRODUCTION

While I worked on this study of Bunyan's margins, German young people danced on the Berlin Wall; a short, deadly war was fought in the Middle East; the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Cold War thawed; and my own country lurched from constitutional to economic crisis. At news time each evening, the project often seemed marginal indeed.

But because I believe that the humane studies by which we engage in the making of meaning from the record of our shared life are central to our living as a human community, I have pressed on. I first undertook this work because I sensed that Bunyan's marginal notes interact with his narrative texts in ways more subtle and more significant than has been realized; and that by discovering the richness and complexity of the dual text, we could better recreate the reading experience intended for his narratives and thus, better recover their richness. And so I have pressed on, reminding myself that, at the very least, I am not hurting anyone.

But, of course, I hope that this study will be much more than innocuous. It is my hope that it will add a significant new dimension to the study of Bunyan's narratives, a new understanding of their complex demands on the reader, and a new understanding of the kind of reader for whom they were originally written.

In the past, Bunyan's marginal notes have been slighted or treated as problematic. For many modern readers, the complex late Renaissance format of narrative text plus notes seems to have created certain problems, many of which can be traced to the still-lingering influence of Romanticism. Since "continuous allegory prescribes the direction of . . . commentary, and so restricts its freedom" (Frye, Anatomy, 90), some of the problem seems to stem simply from a resistance to any interference with the presumed autonomy of the reader as interpreter of text. The tension between the "Bunyan of Conventicle" and "Bunyan of Parnassus" suggested by Coleridge in his notes on The Pilgrim's Progress (ed. Brinkley, 475), arises from a view which sees didacticism and art in opposition to each other rather than, as was the Renaissance view, in full harmony with each other. Furthermore, the Romantic emphasis on genius and originality which still colours evaluations of literature has obscured the importance to the Renaissance mind of identifying sources beyond the work itself. U. Milo Kaufman identifies the marginal notes to the TPP as presenting a problem to "many modern readers . . [who are] troubled by suspicions about the originality and wholeness of a work that so persistently points beyond itself . . . " (25).

With such resistance to the constraints of commentary and a general lack of understanding as to the authority of literary sources in Renaissance texts, twentieth century readers have tended to find the marginal notes at best distracting; at worst, an unwelcome imposition. Having lost not only the ability to read in two places at one time but also the ability to think on the two planes of allegory at one time, twentieth-century readers have to make a substantial effort if they are to effect serious engagement with annotated texts. As recently as the 1960's, practical editions of TPP for Penguin Books (ed. Roger Sharrock, 1965, rev. 1987) and for Riverside Editions (ed. James Thorpe, 1969), appeared without the marginal scriptural citations, "to make these works more readable," as Thorpe explains in his "Note on the Text."

But a number of recent developments in literary criticism make a re-evaluation of Bunyan's narratives in the light of his marginal notes a timely enterprise. Following the lead of Jacques Derrida's Margins of Philosophy (Fr. 1972, trans. 1982), deconstructionists have brought attention to the marginal, the peripheral, and the paratextual elements in literature. Margins can no longer be ignored; indeed, in the anti-logic of the deconstructionists, anything marginal merits special attention. Clearly, this attention creates a climate in which a serious reading of Bunyan's narratives by way of his marginal notes is quite legitimate. It is not, however, our intention finally to "valourize" margins over narrative, but to re-evaluate and reintegrate the marginal notes with the central narrative.

Attention to "intertext" has become fashionable since the attention brought to it by such theorists as Julia Kristeva and Michael Riffaterre. Riffaterre defines intertext as "a corpus of texts, textual fragments, or textlike segments of the sociolect that shares a lexicon and, to a lesser extent, a syntax with the text we are reading" ("Intertextual Representation," 142). While it can be argued that "intertext" is simply a modish shorthand term for literary antecedents assumed by the author to form a part of the reader's repertoire of literary experience, the critical attention to intertext has granted new status to literary works which, like Bunyan's, are particularly conscious of the intertexts which they draw into their own fabric. Bunyan's works have everything to gain from this interest; his richly annotated works beg for discussion. Here are narratives which truly, consciously, continuously, point to an intertext, a vast interior mental landscape which serves as backdrop to the action and which is continuously in interplay with it. The King James Version by which the lower classes of England achieved literacy in the seventeenth century is everywhere present, in the margins and the central narratives, in Bunyan's works.

The interest of Marxist critics in the politics of literary production, and, in particular, the literature of the socially marginalized has brought intense interest to bear on long-forgotten texts. Texts produced by such a group as the persecuted non-conformists in England during the Restoration period have political implications of great importance, spelled out by such cultural historians as Christopher Hill. And so Bunyan, long a hero of the underclass to the working-class socialist movement, is now granted his place in the sun by academic Marxists.

Nor has the interest of historians been limited to those who read history through the matrix of Marxist analysis. In general, there has been much re-evaluation of the "Puritan Revolution" and the long-neglected culture of non-conformity. Literary historians Richard Greaves and Neil H. Keeble have written recent significant studies of the period, the thought, and the leading figures of post-Restoration Puritanism, adding to the work of earlier writers such as William Haller, Gerald Cragg and Owen Watkins.

Reader-response critics, too, have found Bunyan's work to be a fruitful field for their investigations, with chapters devoted to the experience of reading TPP in the highly influential works of Stanley Fish (1972) and Wolfgang Iser (1974). Fish's "reading," however idiosyncratic and fictionalized, and Iser's "implied reader," however monolithically rendered, served to put TPP back on the critical agenda. Since then, all critical reading has become more self-conscious than it once was. On one hand, the new interest in hermeneutics stimulated by continental critics from Roland Barthes to Paul Ricoeur, means that we do not merely make meaning; we examine ourselves in the process of making meaning and analyze the presuppositions which undergird the activity. On the other hand, a fresh interest in the history of reading, in attempting to reconstruct the mode of reception in various time periods, has been stimulated by the work of literary historians like Robert Darnton and literacy historians like Eugene Kintgen and Margaret Spufford. The interest in reader-response has potential benefit for the re-reading of Bunyan with a new sensitivity to the ways in which meanings were arrived at by his original readers as well as to the ways in which meanings may be arrived at by late twentieth-century readers, for many of whom the resonating intertext is entirely, or almost entirely, lost.

One other current in literary criticism which favours a renewed interest in Bunyan is the interest in narrative theory. In The Rhetoric of Fiction (1961), Wayne C. Booth, drew attention to the "implied author" and the "implied reader" and unleashed a flood of criticial theory attending to such matters as narrative voice and ideal, real, or inscribed audience--as well as to narrators and (dread term) narratees within the narrative. The structures of language and narrative which have long fascinated the Russian formalists have become part of the critical discussion through the work of American structuralists like Jonathan Culler and Seymour Chatman. The attention they have brought to structure means that one cannot begin to read Bunyan without attending to the dialogic format of the dual text which Bunyan adopts and adapts. And possible-worlds theorists such as Thomas G. Pavel and Christine Brooke-Rose have begun to explore the way in which narrative and imagination are linked, making Bunyan's imagined world within a dream-frame suddenly more interesting.

All of these currents in criticism have promoted a new interest in close reading, in considerations of the process of reading, and in taking into account paratextual elements such as margins. Lawrence Lipking's rather playful article, "The Marginal Gloss" appeared in 1977. Valentine Cunningham contributes an essay, "Glossing and Glozing: Bunyan and Allegory" to Neil Keeble's collection, John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus (1988), in which he maintains that the marginal notes reveal Bunyan's fundamental anxiety about the instability of his narrative texts (216-40). But it is William Slights' seminal article, "The Edifying Margins of English Renaissance Books" (1989) that moves the whole discussion of marginal notations and their relationship to the adjacent text into a central place in literary criticism of Renaissance texts. Slights' article reviews the convention and offers both a rough classification by function and some models of critical discussion by way of readings in Spenser and Erasmus taking into account the marginal notes. I am indebted to his work on both fronts, although I will be modifying both the taxonomy and the model of investigation to suit my particular interest in Bunyan's narratives.

Where previously a few of Bunyan's more charming notes could be cited and the matter dispensed with, sufficient attention has now been drawn to the marginal notes that readings must now grapple with the fact that both text and margin must be dealt with in any critical reading. Paul Salzman offers a one-paragraph classification of Bunyan's marginals in his survey of English prose fiction before 1700 (246). Keeble devotes three tightly-written pages to the functions of Bunyan's marginal notes, attending briefly to some of the most significant aspects of the Bunyan's marginal notes (Literary Culture, 148-51). The observations of both Salzman and Keeble in large part parallel my own; their analyses are taken into account in the chapter in this study on the functions of the marginal notes.

This study will argue that, for Bunyan and for the readers for whom he wrote, the references in the margins were highly important elements in constant interplay with the narrative. This work goes ahead, as all such works must, on the basis of a number of presuppositions and assumptions, some of which we can state at this time; none of which we can fully explore.

The authorial integrity of Bunyan's margins as authentically belonging with his narratives, and the artistic integrity of his marginal notes with his narrative text is defended in Chapter 2, and for the rest of this study, assumed. So is the much-maligned concept of authorial intention with regard to meaning. While the work of art to be considered may, as Ricoeur points out, be autonomous as regards the author in place and time, it is never autonomous from the author with regard to meaning. Any experience of literature is the result of two intentional processes, writing and reading. The entire work of this thesis is carried out on the basis of a relational and communicative model of literature which includes both a writer who intends a meaning and a reader who attempts to make out something like _that_ meaning, not just any meaning, from the text. However approximate may be the making out of meaning, the intent of reading is to learn what the author wished to convey, not some other meaning, perhaps more congenial to the reader's tastes.

The model of Hopeful and Christian attempting to decipher the engraving on the statue of Lot's wife springs to mind:

> [_Hopeful_] being no Scholar, called to _Christian_ (for he was learned) to see if he could pick out the meaning: so he came, and after a little laying of Letters together, he found the same to be this, _Remember Lot's Wife_. So he read it to his fellow; after which, they both concluded, that that was the *Pillar of Salt into which _Lot's Wife_ was turned for her looking back with a _covetous heart,_ when she was going from _Sodom_ for safety.
> (108-09)
>
> *Gen.19.26.

The shared, communal reading activity described in this passage is highly suggestive of the way in which Bunyan expected his readers to "come to meaning" from his text. First comes the making out of the words: the more learned reader was the one who could phonetically sound out the words, "laying of Letters together." Then comes "picking out the meaning"--the laying of words together in their potentially meaningful pattern. Only after this textual work is done can the two readers draw conclusions concerning the significance of the words in relationship to the monument, and in relationship to their pilgrimage.

Meaning which can be made from any piece of text is not autonomous from either literary form or textual presentation of that work. Again the scene of Hopeful and Christian "picking out the meaning" illustrates very well the interaction of textual presentation and the process of making meaning. The writing they read occurs in a particular relationship to the "Monument": "above upon the head thereof." The script is problematic, the epitaph being in "a Writing in an unusual hand" (108). The graphic form in which the words are presented affects the deciphering of the meaning, as we will argue that any marginal notes to a text will necessarily affect the way in which that text is read. By their mere presence, the marginal notes in Bunyan's narratives, as in other Renaissance texts, modify the reading of those narratives.

The dual text, comprised on every page of margin plus narrative or narrative plus margin, is something different from a monotext which spreads from one edge of the page to another. The authorially-inscribed margin both quite consciously restricts the range of meanings which may legitimately be "picked out" and vastly enlarges the literary resonances of the story. Continuous insistence on interpretive action on the part of the reader by means of the marginal notes conditions the act of reading at every point, both by teasing the mind of the reader out into related associations and by intensifying attention to specific aspects of the central text. The kind of total absorption which such a complex text requires of the reader may well explain in part the popularity of TPP, a work in which the reader must become deeply involved in a reading act which engages his intellect, spirit, and emotions.

The dual, interactive text is mimetic of the dual planes of meaning within allegory, in that it gives highly effective visual representation of the allegorical impulse. In an earlier study (Master's Thesis, U of A, 1988), I offered a number of observations concerning the effect of the marginal notations, which serve as a starting point for this expanded study:

> [I]n Bunyan's fictional text, the marginalia have a special function. The author's presence in the marginal notes is a continual reminder that this fiction is not to be read as mere entertainment but as commentary and teaching. The effect of "thrusting into the margins the texts" (as Milton puts it) in support of the material in the main text is that the reader feels that the material is not only weighty but also amply buttressed and supported. The scriptural authority buttresses the fictional narrative and adds weight to its allegorical meaning.
>
> The visual lay-out of the page, with its core text and marginal notations, forces the reader to continuously read in two places and two modes virtually simultaneously. The significance of this to an allegorical presentation is quite obvious. The allegory is more than it seems. It is story and meaning. Bunyan's textual lay-out is mimetic of the very act of reading and responding

to an allegory. (42, 43)

Any consideration of the role of the margins in Bunyans's work will finally have to come back, I think, to the metaphysical base of the marginal note: the idea that there is ultimate reality beyond appearances, and that this reality can be signified.

Fish is astute in his observation that "The marginal note is not offered as a key to the episode; rather the episode points the reader to an understanding of the marginal note" (243). He is, however, too restrictive. The marginal note _is_ offered as a key to the episode, but the traffic of meaning-making between margin and narrative runs both ways: the episode also points the reader to an understanding of the marginal note. And the traffic of meaning-making runs beyond the text, as well, into a territory which is beyond the scope of this study to chart. Bunyan's narratives and their marginal notes reflect what Barbara K. Lewalski sees to be a central Protestant concern to connect the biblical text and the Christian's own experience. "The Christian's experience is to comment upon the biblical text, and the text upon his experience (155). Bunyan is quite clear in his intention that the reading of his narratives should explain and expand the reader's own life, that the reader's life is, itself, a narrative text glossed and commented upon by allegory.

Obviously, current interest in reader-response, and recent studies of contemporary reception of Bunyan's works, demand that the notes be encountered, as much as possible, as they may have been encountered by the original audience. The primary intended readership (what Rabinowitz terms the "authorial audience," 130-33) of Bunyan's narratives is comprised of fellow-believers with Bunyan, non-conformists like himself who share a set of assumptions about the nature of human life in relationship to the divine. "[T]he . . . unregenerate . . . were not commonly intended as the sole readers," says Keeble of the readership of nonconformist literature (Literary Culture 139). And yet Bunyan knew and intended that his works would be read not only by the elect, but also by those less certain of their salvation. A secondary audience to his work is the unregenerate reader. "This Book will make a Traveller of thee,/If by its Counsel thou wilt ruled be," Bunyan advises the reader of TPP (Apology, 6, 11.33-4) and invites the reader to discover "whether thou art blest or not,/By reading the same lines" (7, 1. 24). When the voice in the margin warns "Mark this, you that are churles to your godly Relations" (TPP 2 177), the reader addressed is a Mr. Badman. The implied audience of the margins is thus as broad as Bunyan's real audience: running the range from those who were totally biblically literate and could "hear" each scripture reference and understand its significance both in the story and in their lives to the fringe "listener" to whom an occasional aside could be cast. And, in the aside to the devil in Holy War--"That's false, Satan" (39)--Bunyan may even be seen to address cosmic powers from his margins.

Yet, paradoxically, there is an exclusionary role played by the marginal notes: the reader who does not inform himself of an intertext which may no longer "speak" as it did to the original audience will find himself without the keys to Bunyan's narratives. Cryptic scripture references play a role not unlike that of the riddling Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains who both reveal and conceal meaning. "The Philistians understand me not," Bunyan concedes cheerfully at the beginning of Grace Abounding (1). The discovery by the reader of whether "[he] be blest or not" is at least partly the discovery of whether or not the references in the margins "speak" to him. The reader I postulate is not so simple a construct as Iser's anxiety-driven reader, but rather a reader who remembers, recognizes, responds to numerous cues. The intended reader is "gamesome," involved with the play of text and intertext, delighted to find himself an insider to allusions and cross-references which might well elude others, from the King's censor down to conforming neighbours. Anxiety may be part of the motivation of the intended reader, but it is only a part. The sheer pleasure of reading and of recognizing both one's self and a rich intertext most surely motivated many readings.

The twentieth-century reader who comes to Bunyan without a background textual knowledge of the Bible may be at a disadvantage, but it is a disadvantage which Bunyan's marginal notes provide one with the opportunity to overcome. When one is not a member of the originally intended interpretive community, one can still recuperate meaning. It simply requires a greater effort. As David Daiches states:

> Literature of any scope can never be independent of beliefs . . . . When attitudes and creeds change . . . the reader will have to recapture that attitude artificially if he wishes to appreciate the work fully. (222)

Full recovery of the meanings gained from text by the original, authorial audience may not be possible. A twentieth-century reader becomes quickly aware of the historical gap between the seventeenth-century nonconformist reader and himself. At such an historical remove as we operate from the original reception, full appropriation of a text is probably an inward-spiralling process in which at least three phases can be discerned. First, an initial "naive" encounter with the text. In this phase, the initial "love affair" with the text is begun with an intuitive response on the part of the reader. The next phase is study: successive re-readings of the text are carried on together with gaining as much understanding as possible about the historical context of composition, reception and transmission of the text. This phase distances the text from the reader, possibly "estranges" it; but it also opens up new ways of understanding it. Finally comes a full engagement with the text, a great text inviting the reader to make an appropriation of it in line with the intention of the author. Whereas Jauss and Gadamer base their triadic hermeneutic process of understanding, interpretation, and application in Enlightenment-period pietism (Jauss 139), my approach would be based on the rigorous Reformation hermeneutic. Here is how Jonathan Edwards summarizes this hermeneutic attitude, with regard to interpreting the Bible: "Spiritually to understand the Scripture, is rightly to understand what is in the Scripture, and what was in it before it was understood; 'tis to understand rightly, what used to be contained in the meaning of it; and not the making of a new meaning" (Works, Vol.2, 280). Even while recognizing that limitations of understanding, differences in angle of vision, and historic distances between cultures make such a "pure" apprehension impossible, I think that the application of such an hermeneutic moves us in the direction of meaning.

This study is based on a number of relationships which are reflected in the use of marginal notes. Bunyan's own relationship to reading, especially to reading the Bible, serves as a model by which to examine the readers whom he addresses. The relationship of the various types of marginal notes to the narratives which they not only embellish but at every point enrich is also explored. So, too, is the relationship between the text of the narratives and the intertext of the Bible. Perhaps the most important exploration is of the relationship which the modern reader can establish with Bunyan's enormously influential works, particularly with TPP, by means of attentive reading of the narrative through the lenses provided by the marginal notes.

The structure of this study is straightforward, however circuitously I may believe we arrive at meaning. In Chapter 1, I will look at Bunyan's development as a reader, as borne witness to in GA, and will propose that Bunyan wrote his books for readers like himself: newly-literate, self-taught to a large degree, and highly motivated. Bunyan received the convention of the authorial marginal note from the format of the books he read, and these we will review in Chapter 2. I propose that authorial marginal notes were, for Bunyan, an intrinsic part of both reading and writing. Thus, as he writes, his marginal notes convey and reflect ideas and attitudes towards the act of written communication in general as well as towards the particular text at hand. I will suggest that Bunyan can be seen to have observed a genre-related decorum in his use of notes. In Chapter 3, I will tackle the more theoretical issues of how the marginal notes function in Bunyan's narratives, illustrating with examples from his four fiction narratives, The Pilgrim's

Progress, First Part (1678); Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680); The Holy War (1682); and The Pilgrim's Progress, Second Part (1684). Special effects created by the marginal notes will be looked at in Chapter 4, where I will consider how marginal notes enrich the art of the main narrative text. Chapter 5 will offer a new reading of TPP, in which I will attempt to demonstrate how a full reading of the text, including both the central narrative text and the marginal comments, will grant a fuller experience of Bunyan's works. In the conclusion, I shall discuss what difference our new appreciation for margins may make to future Bunyan studies, and suggest some directions for further research.

This work is an attempt to give systematic study to Bunyan's narratives with full recognition of the function and effect of his marginal notes. I hope that it will move us towards a fuller understanding of Bunyan's works, and other late Renaissance texts. To read these authors without taking into full account the significance of marginal notes is to misread them, and the time has come to re-read all marginally annotated Renaissance texts in the light of our present awareness that form and visual format conditions the making of meaning from print texts.

In critical strategy, this study occupies a position at the intersection of a number of interests. In particular, I see it as offering a model for the way in which phenomenological awareness of the act of the reading can intersect with philological awareness of language and literary history; in which deconstructionist attention to the textuality of literature can intersect with the persistent "commune sence" (as Spenser puts it in his letter to Lord Raleigh) that literature exists to convey meaning and that that meaning intended by the author can be substantially, if not identically, recuperated.

The power and wonder of approaching any great text is that it somehow transcends the gap that separates the reader from the writer; that meaning leaps across history; that our horizon of reception may not fuse with the original, but it can put us into a position from which the actual, intended meaning can be glimpsed, sometimes even grasped; that Bunyan can say to us, his readers distant from him in history, geography, and underlying assumptions, "_I being taken from you in presence_ . . . _do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into THE desired haven_" (_GA_ 1).

CHAPTER 1:

BUNYAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD TEXT AND READING

Bunyan's attitudes towards reading, interpreting, applying, and producing text are of profound importance to a consideration of the interactive, dual text of his major fiction narratives. Perhaps the best approach we can make to understanding the sort of reader for whom Bunyan wrote is to attempt to understand Bunyan himself as a reader. Many of the marginal notes in Bunyan's narrative texts imply Bunyan's expectation of his intended reader's attitudes, reading abilities, knowledge, and limitations. Simply that there are marginal notes reflects both Bunyan's seriousness about reading and text and the conventions of print which he shares with his readers.[1] So Bunyan-as-reader is of more than passing importance to us. And it is this Bunyan-as-reader whom we encounter in his earliest narrative, Grace

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[1] Useful surveys of the current discussion concerning the "reader" of/in literary texts are offered by Iser (27-38); Mailloux (20-39); Suleiman (3-45); Tompkins (ix-xxvi). I shall speak of the contemporary English non-conformist reader as Bunyan's "intended reader," a sociological and historical rather than a theoretical construct. This is the reader for whom Bunyan evidently wrote, a member of what Rabinowitz identifies as the "authorial audience" about whom the author makes "certain assumptions . . . [concerning] beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with conventions (126). To the degree that the characteristic assumptions and attitudes of the intended reader are inscribed within the text itself, we can safely apply Iser's term, "implied reader" (Implied Reader, esp. 1-28).

Abounding.

In a provocative and programmatic essay, "Toward a History of Reading," Robert Darnton suggests that in order to recover information about the reading process in previous periods of history, "We might begin by searching the record for readers" (20). He feels that "historians should be able to capture something of what reading meant for the few persons who left a record of it" (23). Using several other of Darnton's suggested sources to reconstruct reading in Tudor times, Eugene Kintgen examines manuals about reading and explicit instructions in "To the Reader" prefaces. Kintgen admits that, having made such an examination, "we still won't have an individual reader to examine" (13). Fortunately for those whose interest lies in the manner and method of reading in the widening population of the relatively newly literate in England after the middle of the seventeenth century, Bunyan's spiritual autobiography offers such an individual reader to examine. An examination of the record left by this individual reader will supply a good deal of information about how books like Bunyan's were read. This information will support our contention that the marginal notations were not mere ornaments or accidentals, but integrally related to the interpretation of the central narrative text. This study will also contribute to an enhanced understanding of "how unlearned people developed the skills and audacity to challenge learned clerics," work called for by Ann Hughes (38).

Throughout GA, Bunyan is overwhelmingly conscious of his own reading experience and of the impact on him of written text. In almost every paragraph, he discusses an interaction with text: through reading, remembering, and reflecting, he is in continual dialogue with words which he first encounters in the written text. (Interestingly, the brief biographical sketch which prefaces "Doe's Folio" speaks of Bunyan's reading and study in terms of this dialogue: "His business was to converse much with the Word of God, and to pray over it" [Works, A-1]). While GA is first a spiritual autobiography, it is also an intellectual history. It supplies for students of Bunyan's works a self-conscious representative reader of the type Margaret Spufford classifies as the "non-gentle reader before 1700" (xviii).

Bunyan recalls having learned to read and write at school "the which I also attained, according to the rate of other poor men's children" (GA para.3). Spufford's attempts to discover what might have been "the rate of . . . poor men's children" lead her to conclude that,

> In the seventeenth century, the opportunity to receive any schooling was socially restricted. Once a child could earn wages which made a difference to the family economy, it would be removed from school unless these wages could be dispensed with. (26)

From evidence gleaned from autobiographies from the period, Spufford offers as a "working hypothesis" that children who did go to school would have learned to read by seven years of age, and to write by eight. According to her account, many of those who were allowed to go to school stayed only long enough to learn how to read before joining the work-force, making the number of readers considerably greater than the number of writers (26). Bunyan is conscious of being privileged above his class in having had the opportunity afforded him by his parents "to learn both to Read and Write" (GA para.2).[2] He confesses, however, "I did soon lose that little I learned, and that even almost utterly" (para.3). Perhaps it is the loss of facility with Latin which Bunyan laments, (Spufford notes that "[w]riting began with Latin," [25]), for he did continue to read.

Bunyan claims that when he was a young person, he was not only without interest in spiritual reading matter, but actually felt a kind of claustrophobia while watching others read religious materials: "[W]hen I have but seen some read in those books that concerned Christian piety, it would be as it were a prison to me" (para.10). This sort of physical response to print as an aspect of Bunyan's reading is frequently encountered throughout GA, and will be examined more fully later in this chapter. Although manuals of Christian behaviour were not appealing to him, we know from his comments about romances and ballads that he did read the normal chapbook fare of his class.[3]

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[2] In a manner typical of the period, Keach enjoins Christian parents to send their children to school, biblical literacy being foundational to faith. He depicts a spiritual struggle underlying the financial struggle of poor people in sending their children to school. In The Progress of Sin, the temptation of Peccatum to poor parents is presented:

> He presenteth to many Parents the great Charge of putting their Off-spring to School; perswading them (they being poor, and low in the world) they could not be at this cost . . . . lest by their attaining to the knowledge of Letters, they should take to read the Holy Bible, which he dreads exceedingly; because when understood, it vanquisheth (at once) his Darling Ignorance. (59)

His official introduction to spiritually-oriented reading material came through his wife's dowry: two popular "godly books," Arthur Dent's The Plain Man's Path-way to Heaven and Lewis Bayly's The Practice of Piety. He credits these books with engendering a spiritual interest (para.16) which he began to satisfy with reading narrative material in the Bible: "I betook me to my Bible, and began to take great pleasure in reading, but especially with the historical part thereof" (para.29). At this stage in his development as a reader, Bunyan introduces himself with delight to the stories of the Bible, probably already familiar to him in oral form through readings or pulpit retellings and elaborations. He seems to have made a quite natural transfer of reading skills from reading chapbook adventure stories to the more challenging reading materials of biblical narrative.

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[3] "Give me a Ballad, a News-book, George on Horseback or Bevis of Southampton, give me some book that teaches curious Arts, that tells of old Fables; but for the Holy Scriptures, I cared not" (A Few Sighs from Hell, 333).

Bunyan describes his sequential reading in the Bible in terms of physical motion: "And as I went on and read, I lighted on that passage. . ." (para.47), a tellingly physical phrase which is echoed memorably in the opening first sentence of The Pilgrim's Progress: "As I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place . . ." (TPP 8). This sense of reading being a physical pilgrimage through print is reiterated elsewhere in GA (e.g., "[H]ow was my soul led from truth to truth by God" [para.119]) and suggests something of the slow and persistent toiling towards meaning that reading would have been for readers of Bunyan's social class and educational background.

Later, Bunyan turns with a hungry mind and "new eyes" to more complex biblical materials. "And now, me thought, I began to look into the Bible with new eyes, and read as I never did before; and especially the Epistles of the Apostle S. Paul were sweet and pleasant to me" (46). The development of Bunyan's reading skills is as apparent here to the modern reader as was the illumination by the Spirit to Bunyan; neither should be discounted. Since narratives are rare in the Epistles, Bunyan was apparently now able to extend his repertoire of reading strategies to include means of dealing with argumentation, exhortation, and propositional declarations. The intense attention given by Bunyan to the Epistle to the Galatians in an early stage of his pilgrimage into literacy (para.129) is of interest in this regard, since that Epistle contains an extensive passage of narrative in which St. Paul narrates his immediate post-conversion experiences and encounters with church leaders, including a dramatic confrontation with St. Peter (Galatians 1:11 - 2:14). Thus, this epistle may have created a bridge by which Bunyan could both apply his skills in reading narrative and extend his skills to include hortatory and doctrinal material, aided by Luther's commentary. Making meaning at this challenging new level of reading brought Bunyan pleasure: the meanings arrived at "were sweet and pleasant" to him as a developing reader. The enthusiasm of the newly literate for the experience of understanding text is quite apparent here.

Having learned reading strategies for dealing with narrative and epistolary material, Bunyan now goes on to create a broader framework of understanding. A remembered text from the Apocrypha pops into his mind ("Look at the generations of old, and see, did ever any trust in God and were confounded?"),[4] and Bunyan acts upon it as a directive, engaging in a motivated reading of the entire Bible. His plan is to "Begin at the beginning of Genesis, and read to the end of the Revelations, and see if you can find that there was any that ever trusted in the Lord, and was confounded" (para.62, 63). Such a task would daunt most modern readers; we need to consider what an accomplishment it was for a reader like Bunyan, and, indeed, what an amazing resource the newly-literate population of England had in the Bible, a book which provided a wide range of types of reading material woven together into a single great pattern of meaning.

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[4] Ecclesiasticus 2:10.

Such a questing reading of the entire biblical text as Bunyan now undertook established for him a whole-book approach to the Scripture. This "big picture" is behind and underlying all of his wide-ranging biblical references. It is within this broad context that Bunyan conducts his free movement from Old to New Testament and back again. For Bunyan and his readers, the Bible was one book, the two testaments linked by type and fulfillment, and thematically unified in the person and redemptive work of Christ. Bunyan and his readers were the heirs of the reformation attitude that "the canon is one because the meaning of all of it is salvation in Jesus Christ" (Frei 27). Bunyan was, therefore, perfectly comfortable in using Old Testament characters to exemplify Christian truth: Mannasseh, an Old Testament king, is like the backslidden Christian who can still be saved (Saved by Grace 196). Samson regaining his strength is like the backslider who rouses himself to spiritual action (Christian Behaviour 61). Examples can be drawn with ease from both the Old Testament and the New to prove a point: ". . . the greatness of a Sense of Sin, the hideous Roarings of the Devil, yea, and abundance of Revelations, will not prove that God is bringing the soul to Jesus Christ: As Balaam, Cain, Judas and others can witness" (Come and Welcome, 355). Landscape descriptions draw on biblical imagery from throughout the Bible. John Knott, Jr. notes Bunyan's increasing dependence on Scripture for landscape imagery as Christian nears the end of his journey in TPP, "skillfully fusing the Old Testament and the New" in the vision of the Delectable Mountains, the River of Life which "is David's River of God as well as the river of Revelation," and the fusing of Old and New Testament "visions of blessedness . . . in the juxtaposition of Beulah and the New Jerusalem" (151). As we consider Bunyan's use of marginal notes, we must bear in mind that whenever Bunyan cites a text, he is expecting his reader to be aware of a complete biblical context, both immediate in a particular chapter, psalm, or story; and general in the sweep of Bible history from the beginning to the end of all things temporal.

For Bunyan, this whole-book reading of the Bible gives way, under the duress of his quest for assurance of salvation, to repeated searching for particular remembered texts (for example, para.147). Now, having an overview of Scripture and the truth personally authorized to him through at least some moments when he feels a subjective sense of being among the elect, Bunyan is ready for a careful study of texts within their contexts to "weigh their scope and tendency" (para.222); to ascertain "the New Testament style and sense" of Old Testament passages--that is, to interpret them in the light of typology and fulfillment; or to determine the "natural force and latitude" of the text (para.249).

Three hermeneutic approaches can be deduced from Bunyan's record of his struggle to understand specific texts in a particular context and then to place them into the unity of the entire text of the Bible. The first hermeneutic approach is that of reading to find the plain sense of a passage--indicated by his seeking to read "without restraining the natural force of one syllable" (para.249). This was in line with Reformation hermeneutic principle which accepted typology and figural readings, but rejected the more elaborate allegorical readings of biblical texts, seeking first to be instructed by the plain, grammatical meaning of the passage.

The second hermeneutic principle which guides Bunyan is to read for an understanding of the passage "in a New Testament style and sense" (para.226)--which he elsewhere calls the "Evangelical . . . or Gospel" sense in contrast with the Old Testament or "Legal" sense (Doctrine of the Law & Grace Unfolded, 72). The "New Testament style or sense" seems to refer to the assimilation of the Old Testament stories to New Testament applications, either by seeing the story as an exemplum or by reading it typologically or figurally.[5] Bunyan's use of the Old Testament to illustrate New Testament truth is frequent and unapologetic, as he follows not only the Protestant reformers, but the New Testament writers themselves, in absorbing the Old Testament into the New, or in reinterpreting the Old Testament in the light of the new covenant of grace.

The third hermeneutic principle is that of harmonization. "When [he] had thus considered these scriptures, and found that thus to understand was not against but according to other scriptures . . ." (para.228), Bunyan found himself confirmed in his interpretation. In line with the Reformation conviction of the unity of Scripture, Bunyan sought to read a passage in such a way that it fit into an overall harmony of scripture. He was, we know, aware of a methodology of reading laid down by the translators of Martin Luther's Commentary on Galatians. The "Christian Reader" is admonished ". . . firste to read it wholy together, and not by peeces and parts here and there, but take it in order as it lieth, conferring one place with another, whereby to understand the better the right meaning of the author" ("To the Reader," n.p.). If the courtesy of this kind of reading was expected to be extended to Luther, one can be sure that it was also expected to be extended to the writers of holy scripture.

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[5] For a careful distinction between the older allegorical reading which the Reformers rejected and the figural reading which they embraced, see Frei 27-36.

While Bunyan's hermeneutics may have been more often implicit than explicit, they are anything but simple or simplistic. We need some understanding of this placing of texts in contexts, and of juxtaposing texts and harmonizing them in relationship to each other and to the entire text of the Bible if we are even to attempt to recover the intended and probable impact of Bunyan's marginal notations on his seventeenth-century readers. Every reference represents a text which should be understood in the light of its context in the Bible, and in the network of images, allusions, and interlocked meanings to which it provides access. Each reference is a synecdoche for the whole of the sacred text and summons the whole late-Reformation attitude concerning it.[6] Biblical references in the margin are clearly not optional extras to Bunyan's narrative texts, but serious signals to his audience to recall and reflect the Biblical text to which Bunyan at every point anchors his narratives.

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[6] See also Herbert, "The H.Scriptures II:"

Seeing not only how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the story.
This verse marks that, and both do make a notion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie..."
(50)

Frye observes that the identification of Scripture by chapter and verse allows for "[t]he conception of the 'text' . . . implying that the Bible is a collection of authoritative sentences, and that the center of the entire Biblical structure is whatever sentence one happens to be looking at. . . . Ideally, every sentence is the key to the whole Bible. . . . (Great Code 208).

Against this background of a progressively developing reading ability, Bunyan goes on to create a synthesis which is, in effect, a systematic theology. This synthesis he discovers in a restrospective analysis of the themes of his sermons. He preaches first on the sinfulness of man, "crying out against mens sins, and their fearful state because of them" (para.276-78); then on the person of Christ, "in all his Offices, Relations, and Benefits unto the World" (para.278); and finally "on the mystery of union with Christ" (para.279). Again using the image of physical travel, Bunyan comments: "And when I had travelled thorow these three chief points of the Word of God, about the space of five years or more; I was caught in my present practice and cast into Prison" (para.279). For Bunyan, both reading and preaching are journeys into and "thorow" truth.

Thus, the young man who claims to have lost what little he had learned about reading at school becomes capable of a systematic theological approach to the Bible together with a deeply subjective, personalized reading. In short, he is fully biblically literate, with the scriptures readily available to his mind as words, as pictures, or as doctrinal principles, all within the framework of a grand scheme of meaning which includes within its scope the nature of man as revealed by creation and the fall; the means of redemption through the person and work of Christ; and the mystical union of the soul with Christ.

For Bunyan, reading is always closely linked with the mental activity of both understanding and judging. He is at his best a critical thinker--even when the text is sacred text. He first mentions the importance of being able to form a judgement in relation to Ranter writings. These troubled him because he was "unable to make a judgement about them" (para.44). He examines both Ranter and Quaker teachings critically, and goes on to apply critical reading skills to the Bible as well.[7] After a painful mental struggle caused by apparently contradictory scriptural messages concerning the state of his soul, Bunyan settles the matter once for all by setting himself the task of understanding "these most fearful and terrible scriptures, to come nigh to them, to read them, and consider them, and to weigh their scope and tendency" (para.222). While convinced that the Bible is the Word of God and is wholly true and trustworthy, once envisioning the writers of scripture saying to him, "All our words are truth, one of as much force as another" (para.209), Bunyan remains critical of his own interpretations and those of others. He goes back to revise his own earlier, more naive readings of biblical texts. "[L]ater, considering the place more fully" (para.147), he sometimes confirms an earlier reading and sometimes replaces it with a more satisfactory reading, always pressing towards interpretations which harmonize one scripture with another, and which are true to his own experience.

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[7] Kaufmann goes so far as to say, "In his imaginative use of Scripture . . . lay the seeds of historical criticism, evident also in the work of Richard Baxter, that came to bloom only after the lapse of a century" (x-xi).

Bunyan's critical readings have a double frontier: he attempts to understand scriptural texts in their contexts, and he attempts to understand how to apply the text to his personal spiritual life and growth. He may have been helped in this complex process of learning how to read the Bible by something similar to the "Guide to Reading of Scripture" in the front-matter to the Geneva Bible of 1610. In order to understand "the scope and thrust of Scripture," readers were instructed to:

> Mark and consider:
> 1. Coherence of the text and how it hangeth together.
> 2. Course of times and ages, with such things as belong unto them.
> 3. Maner of speach proper to the Scriptures.
> 4. Agreement that one place of Scripture hath with an other, whereby that which seemeth darke in one is made easie in another.

Such an approach to reading scripture is quite different from the religious enthusiasm of personal inspiration of which an appalled Dryden accuses non-conformist sects: "Study and pains were now no more their care;/Texts were explain'd by fasting and by prayer" ("Religio Laici" ll. 413-14). Bunyan's kind of reading involves an awareness of the effect of grammatical structures on meaning; a knowledge of the general historical context of a passage and of its place in the developing history of God's revelation to man; an ability to respond appropriately to figures of speech, modes of address, and matters of form; and finally, an understanding of a system of internal harmony within Scripture and an ability to conduct interpretation within this system by cross-referencing a text or passage to other biblical passages.

While all of these interpretive strategies might be engaged in by the individual alone, the "Guide to Reading the Bible" recommends that an individual's interpretations be compared with those of an "interpretive community."[8] The reader is encouraged to:

> Take opportunities to
> 1. Reade interpreters, if he is able.
> 2. Conferre with such as can open the Scriptures.
> 3. Heare preaching, and to prove by the Scriptures that which is taught.

There is a clear social and educational scale implied in this listing. The first instruction (to "reade interpreters") is qualified by an ambiguous "if he is able," suggesting that many readers would not be "able" to read commentaries in either the sense of having sufficient literary or language competency; or of having economic access to such commentaries.[9] The second instruction, to "conferre" would be possible for a greater number of people. And the entire general public was able to "heare preaching" and then to engage in the process of "prov[ing] by the Scriptures that which is taught"--the after-sermon exercise of diligently looking up scriptures cited and considering the teaching that has been offered.

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[8] Stanley Fish introduces this useful term in his article, "Interpreting the Variorum," esp. 480-85.

Bunyan was not "able," in any of the senses we have discussed, to "reade interpreters," his opportune encounter with Luther's Commentary on Galatians representing the exception rather than the rule in his studies. But he was able to "conferre," meeting frequently for discussion with John Gifford, minister of the Bedford church (para. 77). And there is no doubt that he joined other non-conformists of his day in frequent hearing of preaching, followed up by attentive, critical study of the passage of scripture on which the teaching had been based. While he lacked access to commentaries that would have linked him to an interpretive community reaching back to the first century, Bunyan was initiated by sermon-hearing and intense discussion into the Calvinistic community of non-conforming

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[9] During the persecution after the Restoration, another meaning of being "able" to consult commentaries comes into play: imprisoned and away from the resources of their libraries, writers had to rely on their memories for their annotations. See "A Premonition" to Baxter's in The Saints Everlasting Rest.

English Puritanism as his interpretive community.[10]

Bunyan has an intensely personal and ego-involved relationship to text. As he begins to read the gospels, he visualizes and places himself in the scenes of which he reads. "[M]ethought I was as if I had seen him born. . . grow up . . . . I saw how gently he gave himself to be hanged . . (para.120-21).[11] And Bunyan was capable of visualizing not only the events of which he read, but also the authors of the biblical accounts. In the midst of his spiritual depression, it seemed to Bunyan "as if both Peter, and Paul, and John, and all the Writers did look with scorn upon me, and hold me in derision" (para.209).

Related to vizualization, yet distinct from it, is Bunyan's habit of identification with characters and events in printed text. Of Luther's spiritual experiences described in his Commentary on Galatians, Bunyan states, "I found my condition in his experience" (129). Bunyan also makes a terrifying identification of himself with the apostate Spira (para.163). Turning to Scripture, he sees a particular invitation "as spoken by Jesus and left on record especially for John Bunyan" (para.68-69). He hears particular texts vocalized and addressed to him personally. He attempts to judge the seriousness of his sin of "selling Christ" by measuring it against the sins of Bible characters. He compares his sin with David's sin of adultery covered up by murder (2 Samuel 11, 12) and finds his to be worse:

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[10] For fuller discussions of the religious ideas, political ideals and socio-economic profile of Bunyan's "interpretive community," see Hill, Turbulent, Seditious, esp. ch.1; Keeble, Literary Culture, esp. 135-43; Patrides, Age of Milton, 170-96.

[11] The nature of post-reformation meditative practice has been discussed by Kaufmann and Lewalski; both argue for a definitively Protestant meditative tradition, markedly differing from the Counter Reformation Catholic tradition of Ignatian devotion which Martz proposes is central to seventeenth-century poetry. Bennett chides these scholars "for not perceiving that Loyala merely systemtized . . . established practices" and that Bishop Hall, to whose work Lewalski and Kaufmann trace the Puritan meditation, "bestrides the Catholic and the Protestant worlds" (145). Bunyan's approach seems remarkably like the Fransciscan "mysticism of the historical event" (see Cousins 166-69).

> Then again, being loath and unwilling to perish, I began to compare my sin with others, to see if I could find that any of those that are saved had done as I had done. So I considered David's Adultery and Murder, and found them most hainous crimes, and those too committed after light and grace received: but yet by considering, I perceived that his transgressions were onely such as were against the Law of Moses . . . but mine was against the Gospel, yea, against the Mediator thereof; I had sold my Saviour. (para.151)

He goes on to measure his sin against the denial of Peter (Luke 22: 54-62), and the betrayal of Judas (Luke 22: 1-6; 47-53):

> After this I came to consider of Peters sin which he committed in denying his Master; and indeed this came nighest to mine, of any that I could find; for he had denied his Saviour as I, and that after Light and Mercy received; yes, and that too, after warning given him: I also considered that he did it both once and twice; and that, after time to consider betwixt. But though I put all these circumstances together, that if possible I might find help, yet I considered again, that his

> was but a denial of his Master, but mine was a selling of my Saviour. Wherefore I thought with my self, that I came nearer to Judas, than either to David or Peter's of denial. (para. 154).

Bunyan's intensely personalized reading of text is an expression of the Protestant demand that a reader experience subjectively what he reads about in the Scripture. One needed to have God "convince [him] of the reality . . . and set [him] down therein by his own Spirit in the Holy Word" (para.117). In all of his reading, from following narratives to the "more narrow search" of particular scriptures (para.125), Bunyan is certain that there is a difference between the natural reading engaged in by the unregenerate man and the spiritual reading done by a man who has experienced spiritual enlightenment. In his vision of the sunlit mountain, he sees the Word as "the wall . . . . that did make separation between the Christians and the world" (para.55), the wall he has to pass through by faith in Jesus Christ. After his initial spiritual illumination, Bunyan records that he "read as I never did before. . ." (para.46). There is "an exceeding difference betwixt the notions of flesh and blood, and the revelations of God in heaven," he states (para.118). This need for a personal and subjective experience of the truth, both of the Bible as the Word of God in general and of the assurance of salvation derived from it in particular, is distinctively Calvinistic. Calvin writes:

> [O]ur conviction of the truth of Scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments, or reasons; namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit . . . . For as God alone can properly bear witness to his own words, so these words will not obtain full credit in the hearts of men, until they are sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit. The same Spirit, therefore, who spoke by the mouth of the prophets must penetrate our hearts . . . . The Spirit is called an earnest and seal to confirm the faith of the godly . . . . Enlightened by him . . . we feel a divine energy living and breathing in it . . . . This singular privilege God bestows on his elect only . . . [N]one comprehend the mysteries of God save those to whom it is given.
> (Institutes I.vii. 4, 5)

Comprehension of the Bible was clearly and necessarily an evidence of election to salvation. So, too, was a sense of hearing the Word of God spoken directly to one's own mind and spirit. While Bunyan everywhere affords special privilege to the canonical text of the Bible, keeping clear the distinction between the inspired and authoritative canon and the Apocrypha, he finds that God speaks to him through both. He is surprised--and a bit disconcerted--to discover that the directive he received to "Look at the generations of old" (para.62) came not from "those texts that we call holy and canonical" (para.65). Nonetheless, he acknowledges that "this sentence was the sum and substance of many of the promises" and therefore, "it was of God to me" (para.65). In making this statement, Bunyan is making clear that, however important the specific words and their canonical source may be, the ultimate authority of a "sentence" lies, firstly, in the truth (or "sum and substance") of its content, a truth to be established by the norm of canonical scripture; and, secondly, in the force and effectiveness with which such a word is received by the individual.

There are two other instances described in *GA* in which sentences not strictly from Scripture have the force of authoritative word for Bunyan. One is described in a paragraph first added in the fifth edition of 1680, in which Bunyan describes an event so singular that even then he is reluctant to make a judgement on it (para.174). Bunyan calls it a "strange dispensation, describing,

> . . .the noise of a wind upon me, but very pleasant, and as if I heard a voice speaking, *Didst ever refuse to be justified by the blood of Christ?* . . . [M]y heart answered groaningly *No*. Then fell with power that word of God upon me, *see that ye refuse not him that speaketh.* (Heb. 12:25).

This combination of sensory experience, private dialogue and scriptural voice creates an event which Bunyan does not know how to judge: "I have not in twenty years been able to make a judgement of it . . . . I know not yet what to say of it" (para.174). He makes it clear that he does not claim the experience to be definitive or normative: "I lay not the stress of my Salvation thereupon, but upon the Lord Jesus, in the promise" (para.174). Nonetheless, Bunyan acknowledges that, with or without scriptural authority, the words he heard spoke to him in a definitive way.

The other story of an extra-canonical sentence having the force of an authoritative word occurs as Bunyan ends the narrative of his conversion:

> I suddenly felt this word to sound in my heart, I must go to Jesus; at this my former darkness and atheism fled away, and the blessed things of heaven were set within my view; while I was on this sudden thus overtaken with surprise, Wife, said I, is there ever such a scripture, I must go to Jesus? She said she could not tell; therefore I sat musing still to see if I could remember such a place; I had not sat about two or three minutes, but that came bolting in upon me, And to an innumerable company of angels, and withal, Hebrews the twelfth about the mount Zion was set before mine eyes (Heb. 12: 22-4). (para.262)

From this vignette, with its quite charming picture of Puritan domesticity, a number of implications about the Bunyans as readers and about the readers for whom Bunyan wrote are worth noting. Bunyan quite apparently expected that his wife would be able to cite chapter and verse for a scriptural fragment which he mentions to her. This bears out Spufford's hunch that literacy spread rapidly not only to male but also to female readers of the lower classes (34-37). From the many extant writings of seventeenth-century women we know that educated women of the period knew and could discuss the scriptures very capably; some, like Mary Astell, entered vigorously into religious controversy.[12]

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[12] On Mary Astell, see Perry. Other recent works dealing with lettered women in the Renaissance: Hannay (on Tudor women as patrons, translators and writers of religious works); Haselkorn and Travitsky (on Englishwomen in print); Labalme (learned women in Europe); Rose (literary and historical perspectives); Wilson and Warnke (brief biographies and selections); Woodbridge (the role of women in religious controversy, esp. 129-34).

But this story gives us a snapshot-type glimpse into the home of the poor and uneducated class, where we may be more surprised to encounter an intense kind of biblical literacy in both husband and wife. It was reasonable to expect that a scripture text could be rapidly identified by book, chapter and verse, and compared mentally with other similar texts. Again, in this recalled event, Bunyan experiences the extra-canonical sentence in conjunction with a canonical text for a forceful experience of hearing the Word of God to his own spirit.

The concept of the authority of Scripture is so central to Bunyan's faith and experience of God that he is deeply disturbed by a storm of doubt as to "whether the holy Scriptures were not rather a fable and cunning story, than the holy and pure Word of God" (para.96). "Everyone doth think his own religion rightest," he says, reliving the grip of such doubts, ". . . and how if all our faith, and Christ, and Scriptures, should be but a think-so too?" (para.97). Bunyan acknowledges that an argument for scriptural authority from scriptural sources is circular and thus unconvincing (para.98). For Bunyan, the external or objective authority of the canon of scripture had to be re-authorized within his own mind and soul by the Holy Spirit in order to be valid. It was under the teaching of John Gifford that Bunyan learned "to cry mightily to God, that he would convince us of the reality thereof, and set us down therein by his own Spirit in the holy Word" (para.117). Bunyan is then, by the Spirit of God, "orderly led into" a personal experience of the truth and reality of the gospel (para.120), and this personal experience moves him past intellectual obstacles into a full, personally authorized, Spirit-led apprehension of the truth of the Scripture.

Bunyan would always hold the canonical text, however delivered to his mind, in the highest regard. But he would grow in his ability to respond to the whole word rather than to a particular text received with particular force. He says of this new level of maturity, "[F]ormerly I thought I might not meddle with the promise unless I felt its comfort. Now . . . I was glad to catch at that word . . . even to leap into the bosom of that promise" (para.248-49). His conclusion concerning the Word of God is this: "God had a bigger mouth to speak with, than I had heart to conceive with; . . . he spake not his words in haste . . . but with infinite wisdom and judgment, and in very truth and faithfulness" (para.249). Here, at last, was a concept of God's Word that was big enough, evoking a faith strong enough, "to lean a weary soul upon" (para.250). We can, therefore, fairly assume that texts, which have come to have such strong subjective personal authority as well as doctrinally-attested objective authority, are not cited lightly in the margins of Bunyan's narratives. They are meant to be "heard" as the very Word of God, and to be responded to.

It is important to note that while the realm in which Bunyan operates with respect to scripture is a suprarational domain, it is not an irrational one. Precisely because he believes in revealed, authoritative truth, he seeks a reasonable assurance of his salvation. Precisely because he believes the entire Bible to be the Word of God, he must reconcile the conflicting textual evidence which is brought to his mind. For Bunyan, reading and reflecting on the Bible is far more than an intellectual activity, although it certainly engaged his mind. It is also a spiritual and psychological experience which involves the whole man.

Bunyan's intense mental involvement with the printed text sparks the development of pictorial imagery in his active imagination. This process is evident in his vizualization of texts, of scenes represented by them, and even of the authors of those texts. When Bunyan remembers a text, the letters which make up the text have a physical quality, including size and shape--and sometimes even of lustre. When a scripture comes to him with unusual force and apparent significance, he sometimes not only hears the words spoken but also sees them written in different sizes: he speaks of "such a great word . . . writ in great letters" (para.203, 206). Scriptures frequently "glister" (para. 122), "shine" (para.126), and "spangle in my eyes" (para.235).

We have already noted the language of physical motion with which Bunyan describes his reading of scripture as a "progress." There are other aspects of the physicality of Bunyan's experience with words and meanings. He is frequently conscious of the physical form of books: those in his wife's dowry, the book of "M.Luther" which, Bunyan says, "God . . . did cast into my hand . . . so old that it was ready to fall piece from piece, if I did but turn it over." Bunyan expresses a true booklover's delight in the book-as-thing: "Now I was pleased much that such an old book had fallen into my hand" (para.129). He describes his new close reading of Scripture as a determination "with careful heart and watchful eye . . . to turn over every leaf" (para.247), a phrase which connects his own physicality with the material reality and physical quality of the book. Bunyan recounts that once, upon failing to find comfort in a text, "I threw down my book . . in a pet" (para.204). In this event, his wrestling with Scripture becomes an actual, physical experience. Interestingly enough, this acting out of anger in a way which seems to disrespect the Bible as a book does not seem to cause Bunyan any particular anxiety. For Bunyan, Scripture is the most important method by which God speaks to him; it is that communication which he values, not merely the book. He values the Bible as means to the end of "see[ing] what might be in the mind of God" (para.226), not as a sacred or magical object in itself.

Bunyan is particularly intrigued by the way in which the physical book is able to communicate meaning across time and distance; amazed, for instance, that Luther could speak so directly to his condition, "for thus thought I, this man [Luther] could not know anything of the state of Christians now, but must needs write and speak of the Experience of former days" (para.129). It is just this ability of the written text to transcend distance that Bunyan invokes as the reason for writing *GA*: *I being taken from you in presence, and so tied up, that I cannot perform that duty that from God doth lie upon me . . now from* the Lions Dens . . . *do look yet after you all* (1). For Bunyan, the book virtually presents its author and his ideas, recreating his presence for the reader.

Individual words, too, have a physical existence for Bunyan, or at least Bunyan describes his interaction with them in physical metaphors. They have weight and form, as when a sentence "fell with weight upon my spirit" (para.60, 91). Promises and encouragements of scripture are "stays and props" (para.197), or like spars to a drowning man (para.248). The sentence, "This sin is not unto death" supports Bunyan in the midst of his doubts "like a mill-post at my back" (para.189).

This physicality of words is extended into the attribution of physical action to texts, a form of personification. Bunyan describes texts as having the ability "to seize" (para.64, 174, 182), to "tear and rend" (para.104), to "pinch me very sore" (para.178), or to "hold me down" (para.145). Sometimes this personification is rendered in a military metaphor, as when "this word faith put me to it" (para.47), or "this scripture would strike me down, as dead" (para.185). In other kinds of personification of word or text, Bunyan sees words as having the power to engender thought (para.16), to induce terror (para.75), to kindle fire in the soul (para.75), or to awaken the soul (para.288). His scriptural texts "glance" at him (para.113) even as he gazes at them. He describes, in the crucial final encounter of his battling texts (Heb.12:17 versus 2 Cor.12:9), how the two texts, one condemnning him and one assuring him,

> bolted both upon me at a time, and did work and struggle strangely in me for a while; at last, that about Esau's birthright began to wax weak, and withdraw, and vanish; and this about the sufficiency of grace prevailed, with peace and joy. (para.213)

After this decisive encounter, Bunyan studies the scriptures which so afflicted him and found "their visage changed, they looked not so grimly on me" (para.223). Later, Bunyan fears that the promise which has brought him such joy "did shut its heart against me" but decides that he must risk all and "leap into the bosom of that promise" (para.249). A mind which as readily personifies texts as does Bunyan's is clearly unusually well equipped to personalize abstract qualities into personalities, such concrete realization through personification being the very stuff of his allegories. The vitality with which he effects this personalization is what makes his allegories great; that vitality seems to spring from his energetic, concrete, and deeply physical imagination.[13]

While personification is the most frequent of Bunyan's figures of speech for explaining his experience of words, he also uses other metaphors. He describes the scriptures as food, finding "sweetness" (para.68, 202, 322), "refreshment" (para.194), and "sustenance" (para.204) in words. Bunyan also sees words as having the physical qualities of light or darkness, as when "all would be clouded . . . by that sentence" (para.173), or a sentence would "fly in my face, like to lightning" (para.191), or a newly gained truth would "shine like the sun before me" (para.157). Texts even grow stronger and warmer (para.91) or weaker and more remote (para.189).[14]

Another physical characteristic of words to which

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[13] Bunyan's intensely physical and concrete imagination is parallelled by Wordsworth's, particularly as expressed in the personifying of the shadowy mountain across the lake in the The Prelude (11.90-129). I am indebted to Dr. J. F. Forrest for drawing this similarity in poetic imagination to my attention.

[14] Such attribution of physical qualities to Scripture is characteristic of seventeenth-century poetics rather than unique to Bunyan. For comparative example, see Herbert's "The H. Scriptures.I" (50).

Bunyan is everywhere responsive is their oral quality. Of the mode of reading among common people in early modern Europe, Darnton states:

> [I]t was usually a social activity--not the private communion of reader and author that we associate with reading today. . . . While children played, women sewed, and men repaired tools, one of the company who could decipher a text would regale them with . . . adventures . . . from the standard repertory of cheap, popular chapbooks . . . . [B]ooks had audiences rather than readers. (21)

For Bunyan, much of the Bible may well have been clothed with sound before he read it: through hearing the Scriptures read aloud by a parent or teacher; through hearing sermons; through listening to godly discourse such as that of the "three or four poor women sitting at a door in the Sun, and talking about the things of God" (para.37). Bunyan's sensitivity to sound is evident in the significance he gives to the discourse of these women, and the details he notes in recounting the incident. What he notices particularly is tone and diction: "they spake as if joy did make them speak; they spake with . . . pleasantness of Scripture language" (para.38). It is, of course, entirely possible that Bunyan's reading habits were habitually oral rather than silent; that in his reading of text he actually constructed and reproduced the sounds of the words. At any rate, he hears rather than merely sees the words he reads, and they echo in his mind. Clearly, he is attuned to the sounds of words as a part of their texture.

He hears a text "as an echo or sounding again" (para.190). There is a "joyful sound with my soul" (para.92) that makes one think of a round of bells; scriptures "sound . . . loud with me . . . sounding and rattling in my ears" (para.93, 95). One scripture answers another "as an echo doth answer a voice" (para.188), and more than once Bunyan describes a scripture coming to his mind with such aural force that he thought he heard someone calling it out to him (para.173, 203). The absolute sureness with which Bunyan reproduces idiom and personalizes speech patterns in his narratives tells us about his sure ability to hear and reproduce the sounds of language. This aural facility is something he recognizes and celebrates, writing in "The Apology" to TPP:

> This Book is writ in such a Dialect
> As may the minds of listless men affect:
> It seems a Novelty, and yet contains
> Nothing but sound and honest Gospel-strains. (7)

His recognition that he is using a vigorous regional vernacular ("Dialect") by which to convey biblical truth ("Gospel-strains") is quite sophisticated. The pun on "sound" in the last line of the quatrain to mean, at one level, "doctrinally correct," and at another, "appealing to the sense of hearing," seems too apt to be accidental. Bunyan is a hearer of the word, and not a doer only.

One must, of course, be careful not to oversimplify this review of Bunyan's intensely physical interaction with language, and of his application of physical characteristics to language. Frequently, in the personification or materialization of texts, Bunyan is speaking metaphorically, in a language familiar to the sermon-goers and Bible-readers whom he addresses. But the fact that the kinds of metaphors he uses are so consistently physical, granting weight and form and personality and colour and taste and sound and shape to words, indicates something of the intensity with which words affect Bunyan's mind, and something of the sensory impact which he intends they should have on his readers. For Bunyan, reading is not a pastime, but an intense mental and spiritual activity, so real that it can be described only in physical terms.

Bunyan describes several reflective post-reading experiences, and makes a clear distinction between his own musing or remembering, by which he apparently means consciously thinking about texts or passages; and the sudden irruption into his mind of scriptures. Such irrupting words seem to him to come from outside his own mind: from God, or from the devil. The modern reader might more likely explain the texts as coming from Bunyan's "long-term" or "deep" memory, or perhaps from his "unconscious," but there is no particular reason why his experience of having a word or words "bolt in upon him" should seem particularly bizarre. To accuse Bunyan of a pathology evidenced by "automatisms" (as did William James, 132); or of his having claimed that remembered texts come from extra-mind sources in order to gain authority with his audience (as does Peter Carlton); or of his only gradually recognizing his own consciousness as separate from text (as, rather remarkably, does Graham Ward), is to be insensitive to the vividness and concreteness of Bunyan's imagination, to say nothing of the excellence of his memory. It may also be to practice a sort of literalism in reading his described experiences, failing to understand the wide range of metaphor he employs to convey the intensity of his interaction with word and of the word with him. Of the many critics who have remarked upon the vividness and vocal quality of Bunyan's recalled scriptures, Brainerd P. Stranahan comes closest to the mark in noting that Bunyan "developed the power to recall applicable Scriptures spontaneously in response to a particular requirement; he could also combine these passages into new imaginative wholes" (330).

Throughout GA, Bunyan finds himself everything from comforted to assaulted by "texts" or "sentences" which come to him from biblical or extra-biblical sources. What is impressive about Bunyan's relationship to the great text which dominates and ultimately shapes his mind is that although these sentences come to him apparently unbidden, Bunyan is always insistent upon looking up the text--and is profoundly disturbed when he cannot place texts into larger contexts.

Despite the seriousness of Bunyan's approach to reading, pleasure is nonetheless an important motivator. Since he had, at first, been a reluctant reader, he is conscious of the need to motivate the reader. He never forgets the great pleasure of encountering biblical narrative for himself, and he makes every effort to create pleasure for the reader--even though he feels he needs to apologize for doing so. He rests his difficult decision as to whether or not to publish *TPP* on the consideration that not to do so would be to rob people "[o]f that which would to them be great delight" (*TPP* 2, l.22). By the time he is ready to "send forth" *TPP 2*, he is more confident of both his ability and his right to entertain his readers: "*Yea, they can't refrain/From smiling, if my* Pilgrim *be but by*" (*TPP 2* 169, ll.24-28).

When one turns to Bunyan's sprightly writing after an encounter with the dry didacticism of other writers of the day, including even those like Dent or Richard Bernard who attempted to shape teaching as story, one meets at every turn the pleasure of Bunyan's distinctive narrative style. Even within his sermonic treatises, he brings life and colour to the didactic text with illustrative anecdotes, dialogues (see, for example, the vigorous dialogue between God and the "fruitless professor" in *The Barren Fig-Tree* [*MW 5* 50-55]), or tightly written autobiographical passages (like those in *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace* [e.g., *MW 2* 156-60]).

If pleasure is one motivator recognizable in Bunyan's reading and writing experience, mental or intellectual hunger is another. Bunyan's early reading in the Bible was driven, according to his account, by such a hunger: "[M]y mind . . . lay like a horse leech at the vein . . . crying Give, give " (para.42). Many, if not most, of Bunyan's first readers would have experienced just such an intellectual and spiritual hunger. It was intellectual as well as spiritual hunger that brought people flocking to hear the great preachers of the day. And it was this intellectual hunger they finally were able to satisfy through access to inexpensive print material like Bunyan's own works.

Fear is yet another motivator which drove Bunyan to read, and which he, in turn, uses to motivate his readers. Bunyan's "Apologies" address themselves implicitly to the readers' fears of failing to be among the elect. "Would'st . . . know whether thou art blest or not?" he asks the prospective reader of TPP (7, 1.23), linking the reader's ability to respond to the stories with the assurance of effectual calling. In "To the Reader" of Holy War, Bunyan offers to deal with "things of greatest moment" (5, 1.22), again alluding to the need of the reader to be sure of salvation. Even less subtly, he reminds the reader of potentially imminent death: "[F]are thee well/My next may be to ring thy Passing-Bell" (HW 5, 1.28). In prefacing his work with this dire warning in the best of the memento mori tradition, he follows seventeenth-century prctice. Lewis Bayly's opening comments "To the Reader" in The Practice of Piety, for example, enjoin holy speed reading: "Yet reade it, and that speedily, lest before thou hast read it over, God (by some unexpected death) cut thee off. . . (B-1). With death seen to be imminent and eternal destiny seen to be at stake in the understanding or misunderstanding of the words, reading would have been done with a kind of intensity and energy which modern readers can scarcely imagine. It seems reasonable that, as Wolfgang Iser suggests, reading TPP replicated in the mind of the reader the spiritual experience as structured by Puritan Calvinistic theology and was, to some extent at least, driven by anxiety to establish certitudo salutis (Implied Reader, 3-7). The level of intensity with which Bunyan intended his reader to approach his narratives is greater than any modern reading for pleasure, curiosity, or scholarly analysis, can really recover. Rightly to read TPP is to read it experientially and anxiously: knowing--or having known--the burden of conviction of sin and the reality of doing combat for eternal stakes with the enemy of one's soul. And just such an anxiety-driven experiential reading is what Bunyan was able to count on from many in his audience.

In Bunyan's account of himself as a reader, he is candid about periods of time when he experiences severe reading disturbances or difficulties. Plagued by doubts and distracting thoughts, he sometimes found that "I have neither known, nor regarded, nor remembered so much as the sentence that but now I have read" (para.106). Even after his period of faith-testing and his entry into more fruitful reading and study, Bunyan is honest about the variability of his subjective enjoyment of scripture:

> I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible than I could well tell how to stand under, and yet at another time the whole Bible hath been to me as dry as a stick, or rather my heart hath been so dead and dry . . . that I could not conceive the least dram of refreshment though I have looked it all over!"
> (GA Conclusion, 4).

His own awareness of the difficulties which may be encountered in reading keeps Bunyan sharply aware of the need of the reader to be prompted, reminded, and encouraged; now drawn forward by the story and now compelled to examine its meanings. For this kind of writer-to-reader guidance, the standard Renaissance dual text offered him a ready-made instrument: the margins allowing him to awaken, warn, nudge, encourage, and direct his readers; the narrative allowing him to draw the reader forward through the book to its conclusion.

All of this discussion has far more than marginal significance for our discussion of Bunyan's use of margins to buttress, intensify, and amplify the narrative text of his great stories. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that Bunyan's intended reader would be one much like himself: highly motivated, deeply involved, seeing biblical references or texts embedded in the narrative or signalled from the margin as much more than dry, scholarly footnotes. Such a reader would see a reference in the margins and very often hear the corresponding scripture in his memory, a text complete with context. What to the modern reader may appear to be only a tedious list of biblical references could well be, to such a reader, a "spangling" collection of truths (as, for example, the references to scriptures describing the eternal joy of the believer, TPP 13), or to be remembered and ruminated over as a feast of good things, like the feast enjoyed by the pilgrims in their stopover at Gaius' house (TPP 2 259-65). Furthermore, the marginal notes would encourage the reader that he was not alone as he read, but accompanied by a guide who, like the Spirit through the word, could "guide [him] into all truth" (John 16:13).

In short, for Bunyan and the reader like himself, the margins are alive with meaning. There are no "casual" or unimportant words. Sacred words, even when merely alluded or referred to, have weight and force and significance when reproduced in the reader's mind. By means of the marginal notes, Bunyan again and again summons all the resources of the text-laden minds of his readers to bear on the interpretation of his narratives.

CHAPTER 2

BUNYAN'S MARGINS: THE RECEIVED CONVENTION

In order to discuss Bunyan's use of the margins, we must pay some attention to what can be known about the production of marginal notes, and about the conventions which governed both the writing and reading of these annotations.

While the use of the margins for additional commentary was a fully established convention of printed books during Bunyan's time, the precise relationship between an author's manuscript and the printed version is difficult to reconstruct. Was the book design a result of a collaboration between author and printer? Or did the author have the primary voice in how his book would appear? Roger Sharrock, in his introduction to TPP, states: "Whether Bunyan was responsible for all the marginal glosses or only some of them seems impossible of determination" (lxxxiii). William Slights points out that marginal notes in Renaissance texts can be attributed to "commentators, scholarly annotators, translators, editors, printers, and authors" (682).

Lacking, as we do, any manuscript copies of Bunyan's works, we have to draw inferences from other evidence as to whether Bunyan was responsible for the notes to his works.

While such inferential evidence can never be wholly conclusive, there are a number of valid reasons why it is reasonable to attribute the marginal notes in Bunyan's works to his pen, and to consider them a "significant . . . aspect of Bunyan's semiotic art" (Forrest, "Between" 67).

There is considerable evidence to suggest that it may have been, in general, an author's decision rather than a printer's to present a central text accompanied by marginal notes in some cases and without marginal notes in others. A comparison of similar materials published by the same printer shows distinctions of style which must be attributed to the authors rather than to the printer. John Owen's and John Bunyan's works make a good case in point, since they were frequently published by the same printer, Nathaniel Ponder. In John Owen's works, there is either an absence of marginal notes or an extremely sparing use of the margins. Owen's Exercitations on the Book of Hebrews (1668), Ponder's first entry in the Term Catalogues, is produced in folio with very wide margins which are quite remarkably empty. Despite Owen's erudition, for which the margins create a ready-made showcase, there are only a few citations from the ancients, an occasional Greek words, and some scriptural cross-references. The only consistent use made of the margins is to index the discussion by paragraph numbers. A Brief Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity (1669) is printed in a duodecimo format; here also, although perhaps more explicably in view of the small size of the pages, there are no marginal notes. Likewise, there are no marginal notes in A Brief Vindication of the Non-Conformists (1680), although this book is in quarto and has large enough pages to have made marginal notes easy to add. This standard unannotated presentation of Owen's texts in a variety of page sizes suggests that marginal notes were neither a function of page size nor of Ponder's printing style.[1]

When Ponder prints Bunyan's narratives as the original publisher of TPP, TPP 2, and The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, marginal notes are always a part of the presentation of text, even though the format of the books is the pocket-size duodecimo.[2] Given that, although Holy War was printed for other London printers, Dorman Newman and Benjamin Alsop, the abundant use of marginal notes in HW is similar to that in the works produced by Ponder; given that Ponder clearly did not feel obligated to produce marginal notes alongside religious texts; given, further, that page size is quite obviously not a deciding factor as to whether or not marginal notes are used, we can argue that marginal notes were printed if the author supplied them; that is, that they originate in the author's manuscript as received by the printer.[3]

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[1] As another example of similar materials published by the same printer in different formats, William Marshall "at the Bible in Newgate Street" publishes works by both Owen and Bunyan, in 1693 bringing out Owen's Two Discourses Concerning the Holy Spirit and His Work and Bunyan's posthumous Works. While both books are of a didactic religious nature, Owen's octavo has no marginal notes whatsoever; Bunyan's texts, in double-columned folio format, are accompanied with the marginal notes which had been a part of them in the earlier small-format editions.

[2] After the first edition of TPP, which was small octavo.

There are, of course, a number of Bunyan's works which are without marginal notes, works which Bunyan either felt did not need marginal notes or for which he did not take time to prepare marginal notes. _GA_, printed for George Larkin, 1666, does not have marginal notes; neither do such didactic works as _Seasonable Counsel_ (for Benjamin Alsop 1684), or _The Acceptable Sacrifice_ (posthumously published by George Larkin, 1689). This last is particularly interesting because of a note by George Cokayn in "The Preface to the Reader," dated 21 September 1688, that is, a few weeks after Bunyan's death: "[T]his whole Book was not only _prepared_ for, but also _put on the Press_ by the Author himself, whom the Lord was pleased to Remove . . . before the sheets could be all _wrought off_"(n.p.). This note suggests how closely involved Bunyan usually was in the production of his text.

Other comments made in printers' advertisements in a number of Bunyan's books would also support authorial responsibility for the marginal notes. In the printer's "advertisement" to the fourth edition of TPP, Nathaniel Ponder decries the tampering with notes in spurious editions of TPP: "Thomas Bradyl a Printer . . . hath . . . abominably and basely falcified the true Copie, and changed the Notes." Ponder, by implication, argues for the authorial integrity of the marginal notes in his editions.

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[3] A comparison of the first edition of _Some Gospel Truths Opened_ (1656) with the reprint in the _Works_ shows that the marginal notes have been faithfully reprinted along with the central text, suggesting that the notes were seen as part of the work and not as extrinsic to it.

A similar claim by implication for authorial responsibility for text can be seen in Ponder's request in A Treatise of the Fear of God (1679) that the reader should correct errors "occasioned by the Printer, by reason of the absence of the Author." This implicit assignment to the author of final responsibility also occurs in a note before the Printer's Errata in Bunyan's earlier work, A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (1672), where the printer (in this case, Francis Smith) says, "Reader, thou art desired to mend these Errataes with thy Pen, and to bear with some mis-pointings that have hapned by reason of the Authors absence from the Press" (118). If even the correctness of the "pointings" were seen as the responsibility of the author, it seems reasonable to assume that marginal notes would certainly have been an author's responsibility as well.[4]

A parallel example from another non-conformist writer of the period also suggests that it was usual for authors to write their own marginal notes. Richard Baxter explains his additions to the second edition of The Saints Everlasting Rest (1651), noting that the book had been written while he was sick, "distant from home, where I had no Book but my Bible and therefore could not add the concent of authors." This lack Baxter makes up, explaining:". . . I have added many Marginal quotations, especially of the Ancients: which though some may conceive to be useless, and others to be meerly for vain ostentation; yet I conceived useful. . ." ("A Premonition," [n.p.]).[5]

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[4] In his introduction to the definitive edition of GA (1962), Sharrock comments that "Bunyan . . . did not supervise the reproduction of his text with any care . . ." (xxxix), and that, accordingly, "The punctuation has been silently corrected" (xli). In editing HW (1980), Sharrock and Forrest follow this same line of reasoning regarding the indifference of the author: "Capitalization, spelling, and punctuation have not been tampered with, though it has not been thought illegitimate to alter the pointing on those few occasions when the reader's need for clarity has seemed paramount: the original accidentals were in any event most probably perfected by the printer" (xlvii). In view of the above-noted statements concerning Bunyan's actual involvement with the printing and proofreading of his work, perhaps such editorial judgments regarding authorial responsibility, even for "pointing," should be reconsidered.

[5] This sentence is interesting both for what it claims and what it disclaims; marginal notes are claimed to be an author's choice and right, but they are also seen as potentially creating a problem for the reader--either as "useless," or as an ostentatious show of the author's knowledge. Baxter perhaps feels the need to defend his use of the margins since Owen, equally or more learned than he, and writing for much the same audience, does not use them.

It seems reasonable that the "privilege of the margin" which Baxter claimed was any author's privilege; that the responsibility for the work, down to the "pointings," was every author's responsibility; and that the text of Bunyan's narratives, complete with marginal notes and additions in at least the first several editions, can be attributed to Bunyan himself. Although our evidence from production methods of the day is impressionistic and incomplete, the cumulative effect is quite convincing for placing with Bunyan, rather than with his printers or booksellers, the responsibility for the marginal notes to his texts. This impression is corroborated by contemporary testimony in Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises Applied to the Art of Printing (1683).[6] Moxon states it as a "law" of the printing trade that "a Compositer is strictly to follow his Copy, viz. to observe and do just so much and no more than his Copy is to be his Rule and Authority" (197). Although he goes on to allow for the compositor "to discern and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy," creation of marginal notes would go far beyond the printer's responsibility. In fact, Moxon, describes the compositor "looking a little over his Copy, to see how it pleases him . . . viz. well or ill writ, if it be a Written Copy, or much

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[6] I am indebted to Dr. Forrest's citation of Moxon in "Between Presumption and Timidity" (65-6) for my acquaintance with this "earliest English printer's manual known to us."

Italick, *Latin*, or *Greek* or Marginal Notes . . . for this he likes not in his *Copy*" (211). (It is not hard to imagine the mutterings of a compositor over a manuscript like one of Bunyan's!) In a closing "Advertisement to Authors," Moxon advises, "It behoves an Author to examine his *Copy* very well e're he deliver it to the *Printer*, and to Point it, and mark it so as the Compositer may know what word to *set* in Italick, English, Capitals, &c." (265). Clearly, the primary responsibility for the text lies with the author of the work.

As convincing as external evidence for Bunyan's authorship of his marginal notes may be, internal evidence is even more compelling. Stylistic evidence points in the direction of Bunyan's authorship for many of the notes, certainly the most interesting ones. We can apply a stylistic test of Bunyan's own devising to the marginal notes. In the "Author's Way of Sending forth His Second Part of the Pilgrim," Bunyan instructs his book to define itself as his authentic work as distinct from any counterfeits by "say[ing] out thy say/In thine own native Language, which no man/. . . with ease dissemble can" (*TPP 2* 168,11.26-7). Many of the marginal notes in his narratives demonstrate the same sure command of idiom and proverb, of dramatic tension and preacherly admonition, that Bunyan demonstrates in the narrative text. Sharrock comments: "Some of these glosses are so colourless that they might very easily have been added by another hand; others are very distinctly tinged with the Bunyan flavour" (TPP, Intro. lxxxiii).

Just how intrinsic to Bunyan's narratives the marginal comments actually are may be suggested by another observation by recent Bunyan editors. In discussing the abridgement of the HW in the anomalous "second edition" (printed for Dorman Newman, 1684), Sharrock and Forrest note that "where the narrative is abruptly terminated in mid-sentence by the account of Emanuel's crying over Mansoul . . only a preserved marginal comment helps to keep us on course" (HW, Intro. xliii). The marginal notes, in this case at least, serve so well as structural elements that they are able to offer support to the story line even when the central text is rendered in an incomplete form.

Of course, the biblical references which form the great majority of the marginal notations could arguably have come from a hand other than Bunyan's. But given Bunyan's vast knowledge of the Bible and his reliance on "my Bible and Concordance" as "my only library in my writings," (Solomon's Temple [1688] MW 7, 9), the greatest number of the multitudinous biblical references are best seen as Bunyan's own.[7] Even some of the errors which occur in the biblical references may serve to authenticate the marginal references as having come from a busy author's pen, Bunyan seeming frequently to rely on his memory rather than turning up the passage in his Bible or consulting his concordance. Forrest comments, "Although his range of citation is astonishing, Bunyan not infrequently mistakes biblical chapter and verse," adding that it is one of the tasks of the modern editor to correct these erroneous references ("Between," 67).

Most telling of all in validating the claim that the marginal notes are Bunyan's, are his own attestations of consciousness of the references in the margins of his works, and his comments on marginal readings in other texts. These demonstrate that the margins were, for Bunyan, part of the communication, whether he was reading or writing. In Mr.B,

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[7] Bunyan gives ample evidence of his hearty appreciation for a concordance. Harrison notes that A Pocket Concordance which he compiled in 1671/2 is noted in a printers' advertisement, although no copy appears to be extant. Harrison also suggests that Bunyan may have had a hand in compiling Vavasour Powell's Concordance (Bibliography, Intro, xvii). There is a tantalizing note in the printer's advertisement to GA, 8th ed. (for Nathaniel Ponder, 1692), after a list of thirty-eight works by Bunyan: "This author hath prepared a compleat concordance, to bind with the twelvs Bible, and is in Mr. Ponders . . . . " The page in the copy of the University of Alberta collection has been shaved off, meaning that the final line of this advertisement can only be guessed at, but by the tops of letters visible, it can be guessed to read, "shop to be printed." This offers some further evidence of Bunyan's having written a concordance which may never have been printed.

Bunyan has Mr. Wiseman comment on "the breaking of Mr. Badmans legg" as "an open stroak" of judgment: "And it looks much like to that in Job; . . . He striketh them as wicked men in the open sight of others: Or as the Margent reads it, in the place of beholders" (134). In offering an alternative marginal reading as part of the scriptural quotation, Mr. Wiseman adds emphasis. But more significantly for us, he grants an insight into the significance of marginal readings to Bunyan as a reader of the sacred text, and, by extension, as a writer of religious texts.

In A Holy Life (1684), Bunyan indicates the importance he gives to the biblical references adjacent to his own central text, telling the reader to, "See these Scriptures in the Margent, and take heed" (MW 9, 304). This direct command to the reader suggests the conscious deliberation with which Bunyan penned the references in the margins; it also is clear that, in this case, Bunyan wrote the marginal references at the same time as the central text, with the clear intention that his reader should either recognize or take the trouble to become acquainted with the texts noted.

Finally, in the prologues to several of his narratives, we find direct statements by Bunyan which describe the marginal notes and the relationship he intends them to bear to the reading of the story. In "The Author to the Reader" of Mr.B, Bunyan defines his terms of reference for a particular marginal device, the "fist" or "sign manual":

> *All which are things either fully known by me, as being eye and ear-witness thereto, or that I have received from such hands, whose relation as to this, I am bound to believe. And that the Reader may know them from other things and passages herein contained, I have pointed at them in the Margent, as with a finger thus:* (4)

Bunyan makes reference to the marginal notes as answers to riddles and hence as explanations of the allegory, in "The Apology" prefacing *TPP*: "*Would'st thou read Riddles, and their Explanation?*" (7,1.14); and in "The Sending Forth" of *TPP 2*: "*Those Riddles that lie couch't within thy breast/ Freely propound, expound*" (163, ll.24-5). The invitation to make use of the marginal notes becomes a command in "The Conclusion" to *TPP* where the reader is instructed, "*Put by the Curtains, look within my Vail;/Turn up my Metaphors*" (164, 1.13-4). It is in his preface to the *HW*, however, that Bunyan expresses most unequivocally his intention that the marginal notes should guide the interpretation of the allegory:

> *Nor do thou go to work without my Key,*
> *(In mysteries men soon do lose their way)*
> *And also turn it right if thou wouldst know*
> *My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plow.*
> *It lies there in the* window, *fare thee well* . . .
> (5)

In order to preclude any debate over where the key to Bunyan's riddles might lie, "window" is glossed with a marginal note of its own: "The margent." There can be no doubt therefore that Bunyan wrote his own marginal notes and intended them to be an integral part of his narratives.

We might even, at this point, hazard a conjectural reconstruction of Bunyan at work on his stories. He describes the sudden creative flow of words that became TPP:

> Thus I set Pen to Paper with delight,
> And quickly had my thought in black and white.
> For having now my Method by the end;
> Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penn'd
> It down, until it came at last to be
> For length and breadth the bigness which you see.
> (1, ll.29 ff.)

Bunyan may possibly have interrupted this wonderful outflow of the story long enough to jot an occasional biblical reference in a margin, probably drawn from memory. Then would come the "writing again" to which Bunyan refers in Holy City, where he reflects on method: "(...first with doing and then with undoing, and after that with doing again) I thus did finish it" (MW 3, 70). This would probably have included making revisions on his first draft ("undoing") and then the preparation of copy for the printer by a complete rewriting on fresh sheets ("doing again"). During this revising and rewriting process, the explanatory marginal notes and the majority of Bible references would likely have been written in. Gaining an increasing distance from the text, Bunyan would probably have finally sat down and read the text as its first reader, now serving as an intermediary between the text and the reader, adding asides and clarifying notes as well as indexing his story by means of headings and summaries.[8] Further minor corrections may have been made during the reading of the "proofs" pulled from the press, although Moxon warns that the compositor "cannot reasonably be expected . . . [to] be so good natured to take much pains to mend such Alterations as the second Dictates of an Author may make" (266). Before the work went back to press for each new edition, the author had opportunity to revise his text and, as is evident from succeeding editions of TPP, to continue to add to the marginalia (See Sharrock, Intro. to TPP, xlvi, xciv-xcv, ci-cii, cxvi). An author's additions and corrections were often proudly proclaimed by the publisher on title pages of editions after the first.

In supplying marginal notes, Bunyan is choosing to use, and adapting to his artistic and didactic purposes, an established convention of books of his time. Recent studies by social and cultural historians have greatly increased our understanding of Bunyan's literary milieu. Certainly Bunyan did not write without literary precedents, but rather within an established tradition of the production and reception of religious texts. This awareness does not, however, force us to accept the accusation which has been levelled that he purposely conceals the breadth of his reading in order to claim a greater degree of spiritual authority for his writing. William York Tindall's tone is characteristically sarcastic when he says:

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[8] My assumption that adding marginal notes may have been part of the final re-reading and "touching up" of a manuscript by the author seems to be borne out by Pepys' entry, 23 January 1662/3, "Finishing the margenting of my Navy-Manuscript" (cited OED, "margent," 4).

> To maintain his professional repute and the legend of his gift, John Bunyan wisely announced the literary aid of the Holy Ghost and concealed by silence and the boast of illiteracy the carnal sources of his work . . . . Reason and history compel us to ascribe the literary pretensions of John Bunyan to prudence and policy.(209)[9]

But Bunyan's works reveal quite clearly all his seminal sources. What he scants or does not mention he considers either irrelevant or clearly understood by his readers. Although he does mention them, he says little about the romances and ballads he read before his conversion, apparently considering them to be irrelevant to the serious business of salvation. Nor does he list the titles of nonconformist sermons or pamphlets which he is certain to have read. He takes for granted such religious reading when it runs parallel to his own thinking, and takes up his pen in vigorous debate when it does not. He is neither more nor less meticulous than most late Renaissance writers about acknowledging literary borrowings.[10]

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[9] See also Golder, Carlton. Even Greaves seems to accept the hypothesis that Bunyan purposely concealed the extent of his literary experience. See Intro, *MW 2*.

As to his stated dependence upon his Bible and concordance, Bunyan is saying little more than that he studied the Bible at first hand. He makes such statements with a non-conformist's self-consciousness about lacking formal education, something about which people outside of the academy felt keenly in the late Renaissance. Even that "man of letters," Richard Baxter, is very sensitive about lacking a university degree, writing, "In the Youth of my Ministry Pride made me often blush with shame for want of academical degrees" (Catechizing, A-6). In claiming only his Bible and his concordance as his sources, Bunyan is also sensitive about the less-than-scholarly contents of his marginal notes. He does not, as do many other seventeenth-century writers, place citations from the early Church fathers or from the classical writers in the margins. Nor are his margins adorned with Latin and Greek sentences, as are those of many learned writers of his day. Quite self-consciously he glosses the only Latin motto in TPP 2 with the note, "The Lattine I borrowe" (229), surely a good-humoured parody of the prodigious Latin quotations in the marginal notes of many of his contemporaries, and a selfdeprecating comment on his own lack of the classical languages.

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[10] He is, for example, much more open about his sources than is the compiler of The Ladies' Library (1714), thought to be Berkeley. This work of unabashed plagiarism without acknowledgement of sources is confidently introduced to the reading public by Steele. I am indebted to Dr. G. Hollingshead for my awareness of this work.

Bunyan chooses to make use of the convention of marginal notes to summon a particular reading attitude in his readers.[11] Marginal notes, even in association with narrative texts, would call forth attitudes towards reading usually associated with the reading of religious treatises and the Bible. These conventional attitudes would include the expectation of edification, the intention of application of what is learned to one's own life, and the mental attitude of seriousness and attentiveness, not only to the central text but also to the intertext summoned by the marginal notes. At the same time, the narratives themselves would be summoning other conventions of reading: the expectation of entertainment, the intention of gaining pleasure, and the mental attitude of relaxation leading to enjoyment. Bunyan's use of the marginal notes thus both used and challenged conventions which were available to and understood by his readers.

With Bunyan one can look rather precisely at the works he had read to see how he takes up the convention of marginal notes from sources available to him, and transforms them for the purposes of his highly interactive narrative texts. In the study which follows, an attempt has been made to look at the specific works Bunyan names as having read, as well as other works representative of the kinds of materials he must have encountered. My concern, somewhat different from most studies of sources which tend to seek for links between ideas, themes, or modes of expression, is to understand the convention of marginal notes as represented in these works. For, however unconsciously Bunyan may have assimilated them, the works he read gave him the format and style he chose to use in his narrative works.[12]

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[11] Bunyan's use of marginal notes and his readers' implied response to them illustrates very well an "interpretive convention" of the sort Mailloux proposes, a "conventional frame put around discourse . . . bring[ing] with it reading conventions for interpreting the framed discourse" (135).

In HW Bunyan describes Diabolus' attack on Mansoul by means of Mr. Filth who creates "an odious nasty, lascivious piece of beastliness . . . drawn up in writing." This piece of beastliness Bunyan glosses in the margin as: "Odious atheistical pamphlets and filthy ballades and Romances full of baldry" (31). This marginal note could be taken as a summary statement of Bunyan's pre-conversion reading habits viewed from the point of view of his post-conversion attitude toward such reading matter. The kinds of books which Bunyan read prior to his conversion experience are mentioned explicitly or implicitly at various points in his works.[13]

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[12] In this review of Bunyan's literary precedents, I have made use of the extensive holdings in the Bunyan collection in the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library at the University of Alberta. Works unavailable in that collection I have either viewed on microfilm in the Early English Books collection or read in modern editions.

There is no doubt that in naming specific works, Bunyan merely gestures towards the entire genre which each represents as it was available to "the unlettered reader of the seventeenth century, who had 2d or 3d to spend" (Spufford 258). As Spufford's study shows, a newly literate reading public in the seventeenth century had access to a wide range of inexpensive reading materials--some of it scurrilous--in the form of broadsheets and chapbooks.[14]

Whatever Bunyan may have taken from these works in terms of lions or giants or dragons or merely the pleasure of ongoing adventure tales, it is not from these works that he learned how to create the dual text of narrative plus margins. In them there are no margins to spare, with the print running out to the edges of the pages (probably as a matter of thrift), the stories told without external commentary.

Bunyan's conversion is both through and to religious reading. Indeed, in Spufford's terms of reference, Bunyan's conversion can be seen to have been one from "penny merries" to "penny godlies."[15] He himself marks the beginning of his personal conversion with the reading of the religious books which were his wife's dowry. But, of course, there are some kinds of popular religious literature that were familiar to Bunyan, perhaps from as far back as his childhood. No doubt Bunyan knew hymn-books, the metrical Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, and the Book of Common Prayer. But these, like a number of the other print forms we have examined, would not have affected his chosen format of text plus marginal notes. And there is no doubt that Bunyan was also fully familiar with the emblem genre. Frances Quarles' *Emblemes, Divine and Moral* (1643) was published while Bunyan was a youth. As has long been recognized within Bunyan criticism, Bunyan assimilated the emblem form into his narratives, particularly in scenes like the House of the Interpreter and House Beautiful (*TPP*) and

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[13] For example, see f.n.3, page 5 above.

[14] Spufford deals with Bunyan's personal reading list and gives an extensive summary of both the content and the literary history of Bevis of Hampton (7-8) and "George on horseback," (227-29) and the broadsheet ballads (11-15) that were Bunyan's literary choices before his conversion.

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[15] An unnoticed allusion to "penny merries" may occur during the story of Little-Faith. In answer to Hopeful's question about why Little-Faith did not sell his "Jewels," Christian answers tartly that there is no market for them in his society, where people's "minds are set upon their Lusts, [and] they will have them what ever they cost. But *Little-Faith* was of another temper, his mind was on things Divine" and would therefore not "sell his Jewels . . . to fill his mind with empty things[.]" Christian asks: "Will a man give a penny to fill his belly with Hay? or can you perswade the *Turtle-dove* to live upon Carrion, like the *Crow*?" (*TPP* 128). Given the oblique identification of Little-Faith's "Jewels" as the Scriptures (by means of a marginal reference to "2 Pet.1.19," 127), the reference to "hay" and "carrion" seems to be to reading material that feeds the "lusts" rather than the spirit.

Gaius' Inn (TPP 2).[16] The emblem form did influence Bunyan's marginalia, not because emblems were themselves annotated, but because elements of the form were readily adaptable to marginalia. Marginal notes could "emblematize" an item in the narrative, drawing attention to its specifically emblematic character, as does the note to the "Golden Anchor" in TPP 2 (233). They could function as emblem titles, as does one which titles a speech by Incredulity in HW, "The true picture of unbelief" (48). Or they could function in a way similar to the epigrams of the emblem books, as do many didactic generalizations; a typical example would be, "There is no perswasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes" (TPP 39).[17]

Bunyan's early religious reading also included the very popular A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements by John Dod and Robert Cleaver (1604), to which he makes an approving marginal reference in his own The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded (1659): "If thou wouldest have a more full discourse hereof, read Dod upon the Commandments" (35). This work went through nineteen editions up to 1635, most of which seem to have followed the original presentation in quarto with extensive marginal notes including doctrinal statements, appropriately headed, "*Doctrine*"; adages such as, "Men must bee just, before they can bee mercifull" (253); directives such as, "Lust should be slaine in the conception" (259); and rubrics such as, "Markes to know whether we love God or no" (33). These are just the kind of marginal notes that come readily to Bunyan's hand when he writes.

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[16] See Freeman, Sharrock, Daly. Daly concurs with Sharrock's identification of the emblematic nature of the House of the Interpreter, but critiques his use of the term, "emblem theatre" to describe it, pointing out that emblems are primarily static rather than active, and the two terms "emblem" and "theatre" are, to some degree at least, oxymoronic (60 ff.).

[17] See Chapter 4 below for a fuller discussion of the relationship of marginal notes to emblematic passages of narrative.

Bunyan also read "judgements books" of various kinds, probably both before and after his conversion. He tells of the depressing effect of "that dreadful story of that miserable mortal, Francis Spira" (*GA* para.163). This cautionary tale he would have encountered in Nathaniel Bacon's *A Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira, in the Year 1548* (1665), a book which is not marginally annotated. Later, Bunyan draws on Samuel Clarke's *A Looking Glass for Saints and Sinners* (1671), dutifully citing his source by chapter and number in the margins of *Mr. B*. Precise citation was made easy by Clarke's use of narrow-ruled margins containing nothing more than the numbers of his case-studies, numbered sequentially within each chapter.

Like all Puritan readers of his time, Bunyan must have read sermons, quite possibly including *The Workes of Thomas*

Adams (1629).[18] Thomas Adams' Workes will, at any rate, serve as an example of sermons in print. Printed with ruled margins, Adams' sermons have marginal notes which index main headings in the sermon, supply scriptural references for quotations or allusions, and add quotations in the classical languages. In the famous sermon, "The White Devill," a marginal note offers a rubric, "Three theeves well met," which could as well be the title of a play or of a fairy tale as index to a sermonic text in which alcohol, metonymically identified as "the pot," a representative drinker, and a representative "victualler" are described as thieves. The personification of common and collective nouns as "Three theeves" turns this small sketch into allegory.[19] Similar active, dramatic rubrics occur frequently in Bunyan's marginal notes.

Seventeenth-century sermons are not, by and large, accompanied by luxuriant marginal notes. In a study of English printers in the seventeenth century, Leona Rostenberg credits Puritan printer Michael Sparke (fl.1616-53) with the popularization of the printed sermon. "Through Sparke the oral sermon became the printed word. His bleak and unadorned quartos circulated among the people, awaken[ing] them to political and social issues" (202). However the style was set, there is no doubt that the sermon was a highly popular form of reading, and that its print format was therefore very familiar. For Bunyan, it was also an at-hand writing form. When he writes his expanded sermons as treatises, he observes the decorum set by preachers and printers before him, with few marginal notes except for headings which index the work and, of course, references for biblical quotations.

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[18] Adams' biographer states: "John Bunyan was then only two years old, but it seems certain that the Bedfordshire preacher's quartos and great folio came to be known and devoured by the 'immortal dreamer'" (DNB 1, 102). The evidence is not very adequate for making this judgement; however, there can be no doubt that Bunyan was much influenced by sermons, both in the oral and written form, for they were a popular form of entertainment to which he would have adhered even before his conversion.

[19] "Thus the pot robs him of his wit, he robs himselfe of grace, and the Victualler robs him of his money. This theft might yet be borne: but the Common-wealth is here robbed too. Drunkenesse makes so quicke riddance of the Ale, that this raiseth the price of Mault; and the good sale of Mault, raiseth the price of Barley: thus is the Land distressed, the poores bread is dissolved into the drunkards cup . . . " (54).

Tindall and others who have followed his lead into Bunyan's sources are quite right in assuming that Bunyan had a wide reading knowledge of the literature of religious debate and polemic to which he adds his own titles.[20] In general, the literature of religious controversy seems to be somewhat sparing in the use of marginal notes, relying on them mostly for indexing the contents of a work or for cross-referencing to another work, for annotating (and thus claiming spiritual authority), and occasionally for adding an afterthought.

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[20] See Tindall's chapter, "Apostolic Blows and Knocks," 42-67.

The haste in which most of the diatribes were written may have something to do with the paucity of margination. Fowler's octavo volume *The Design of Christianity* (1671) produced a vehement response in the form of Bunyan's *A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (1672). This was a hasty work. The "Premonition to the Reader" is dated "From Prison, the 27th of the 12th month, 1671." In his further preface, an open letter to Edward Fowler, he writes, "Sir--Having heard of your Book . . . I was desirous of a view thereof . . . . But I could not obtain it till the 13th of this 11th month" (B-2). Bunyan read and responded to Fowler's book within approximately seven weeks; the text of his response is remarkably bare of marginal notes. There are some scriptural references and occasional page references to Fowler's book, but there are no comments or additional points made in the margins. This lack of margination in this hurried work may bear out my conjecture that most marginal notes were added as a manuscript was being revised. A manuscript such as *Defence* would not have received the re-reading and re-writing that went into major endeavours such as Bunyan's narratives, and therefore shows only the kind of marginal notes which Bunyan might have written alongside a first writing.

In another religious controversy, Bunyan tangled with *my Practice* (1672), he fell out of favour with the stricter Baptists. His further statement of openness on the matter, *Difference in Judgment about Water-Baptism no Bar to Communion* (1673), provoked a sharp response from Henry D'Anvers in *A Treatise of Baptism And A Brief Answer to Mr. Bunyan* (1673).[21] Using D'Anvers work as representative of this discussion, we find the margins used almost exclusively for identifying sources, ranging from early church fathers to contemporaries like "Drs. Hammond and Taylor," "Dr. Usher," and "Mr.Bax." The margin as a place of claiming authority is evident; in this use Bunyan becomes proficient, his biblical references serving not only to annotate but also to grant authority to his text.

Bunyan is known to have read some works by the Ranters (*GA* 44)--and to have apparently found them nearly as puzzling as might a modern reader. While some Ranter writings have bare margins or very few marginal notes (e.g., Laurence Clarkson, *A Single Eye* [1650]; Joseph Salmon, *A Rout, A Rout* [1649]), others make extravagant and dramatic use of marginal notes. Abiezer Coppe, in *Some Sweet Sips, of some Spirituall Wine* (1649), adds an appendix titled "An Additonal and Preambular Hint,--As a general Epistle written by ABC" with a double column of marginal notes, one giving general biblical references keyed to the main text with alphabetical index letters, the other providing a detailed and graphically illustrated commentary which reads very much like mystical poetry. In A Fiery Flying Roll (1649), Abiezer Coppe uses the margins as a place of ironic humour and enigma. His account of having received divine instruction to go to London to utter his prophecies is accompanied by this marginal notation:

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[21] Bunyan responded to this and other raps from former friends and associates among the strict Baptists by affirming *Peaceable Principles and True* (1674).

> *It not being shewen
> to me, what I should
> do, more than preach
> and print something,
> &c. very little
> expecting I should
> be so strangely
> acted, as to (my
> exceeding joy and
> delight) I have
> been, though to the
> utter cracking of my
> credit, and to the
> rotting of my old
> name which is
> damned, and cast out
> (as a toad to the
> dunghill) that I
> might have a new
> name, with me, upon
> me, within me, which
> is, I am------
> (Smith, 83).

The ending of this marginal note with the enigmatic "I am" might be read as Ranter blasphemy, the author assuming the most holy of all God's names, or merely as an unfinished sentence, a sort of fill-in-the-blank game for the reader. At any rate, the gamesomeness of such a marginal note demonstrates in an extreme form the play potential of the margins, a potential which Bunyan discovers and puts to good use, if in a more chaste style.

Bunyan's mention of "the errors of the Quakers" (GA para. 123-4) tells us that he read pamphlets by this sect as well, both before and after his conversion. Many of the Quaker works have the same kind of sparseness that marked their other habits of life. They do not have the luxuriant, idiosyncratic notes written by some of the Ranters. George Foxe's books and pamphlets typically have no marginal notes; his Journal, edited and published posthumously, is simply indexed by means of marginal notes which identify the geographic location of the events described. William Penn, credited with the editing of Foxe's Journal, indulges in a few marginal notes in his pamphlet The Sandy Foundation Shaken (1668), a work cited in an appendix to Bunyan's response to Fowler. Of Quaker writings, we know that Bunyan also read Edward Burrough, Truth Defended and The True Faith of the Gospel of Peace Contended For (both 1656), and responded with Some Gospel Truths Opened (1656) and A Vindication of the Book Called, Some Gospel-Truths Opened (1657). Whatever Bunyan may have learned from Burrough about religious polemic, he did not borrow from him the convention of marginal notes. Burrough's little booklets are printed edge to edge of very full pages in apparently cheaply produced little books or tracts. Sportingly enough, Bunyan's responses also have very bare margins; the second response uses a few marginal notes for emphatic comments to the reader: "Here is one of his false accusations" or "Another of his false accusations" (MW 1 184); or "Here my words are corrupted" (173).

The trial scenes in both the Vanity Fair story in TPP and HW may possibly owe a debt to Richard Bernard's Isle of Man (1641), but it must be remembered both that there was a whole sub-genre of courtroom scenes published during the Renaissance, and that Bunyan's first-hand experience in the English courts could well have supplied all the antecedents he needed. At any rate, Bernard's margins serve only an indexing or referring function. Even if James Blanton Wharey was right when he observed of Bernard's Isle of Man that "It is highly probable that Bunyan was familiar with this little book, and that he was induced by it to write his second great allegory. . ." (Sources 136), this book would have had little effect in Bunyan's developing sense of how and when to use marginal notes as a part of his storytelling art.

Tindall insists that Bunyan "found encouragement and possibly material for The Holy War in two allegories of spiritual conflict by Benjamin Keach," War with the Devil (1673) and The Glorious Lover (1679), and considers that "Bunyan imitated at either first or second hand" Milton's Paradise Lost (200). Here Tindall, in his eagerness to establish Bunyan's wide acquaintance with books beyond those he acknowledges having read, seems to overreach. The War with the Devil is a dialogue in rhyme rather than an allegory; it bears a much greater likeness to Dent's The Plain Man's Path-way than to anything written by Bunyan. If Bunyan read it and its influence shows up anywhere, it would be in the dialogue form of Mr. B rather than in the epic-scale allegory of HW. As for The Glorious Lover, this long allegorical poem in rhymed couplets has little in common with either PL or HW (if, as I suppose, Tindall sees Keach's work as the link through which Bunyan came in contact with Milton). The scenes of consultation in Heaven and in Hell which all three works share are probably more reasonably traced to a common sermonic tradition than from one literary work of nearly the same time period to another. Bunyan was certainly not the sort of reader Milton had in mind when he dictated his lines for "a fit audience though few." And there is no compelling reason to assume either that Keach had read Milton or that Bunyan had read Keach.

At any rate, Keach would have added nothing to Bunyan's repertoire of marginal note conventions. Apart from one or two lengthy afterthoughts added in notes around the edges of pages in The Progress of Sin (1684), Keach does not use his margins, not even to index or to add the authoritative weight of scriptural references.

On even slighter evidence, Tindall claims that Bunyan had read Hobbes' Leviathan (1651), claiming as "a hitherto unnoticed allusion" to Leviathan Bunyan's claim in Justification by Faith, to have "broken the head of your [i.e., Edward Fowler's] Leviathan" (193). Bunyan's use of the term is much more likely to have been derived from the Old Testament than from Hobbes' work.[22] However, given that Hobbes' work was widely refuted by non-conformist writers, Bunyan may have known it by reputation. Should he have had opportunity to look into it, he would have found an excellent model for summarizing and indexing marginal notes, these being provided throughout the folio volume.

There was certainly no scarcity of models for Bunyan's use of margins, especially in religious literature of his day. But however wide we draw the circle of Bunyan's reading, and however pervasive we find the convention of marginal notes accompanying central texts, we will probably still draw our most important conclusions concerning Bunyan's precedents when we focus on the five works which dominated his mental and spiritual formation as an adult: Dent's A Plain Mans Path-way to Heaven; Bayly's The Practice of Piety; Luther's Commentary on Galatians; Foxe's Book of Martyrs; and, of course, the Bible. To these we now turn.

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[22] See Psa. 74:14; Job 41:26. Om TPP, Bunyan alludes to the reference to Leviathan in Job and glosses it with a marginal note: "Leviathan's sturdiness" (131).

In GA, as we have seen, Bunyan names the two religious books which comprised Bunyan's wife's dowry and initiated him into serious spiritual reading. An examination of the marginal notes in each of these works brings us close to actual precedents for the textual format which Bunyan later elects for his narratives. Both Bayly's and Dent's works were immensely popular religious books; between them, they set the style for popular religious writing in the period of Bunyan's formation as a writer.

Dent's A Plain Man's Path-way to Heaven (which went through some twenty-seven editions between 1601 and 1684) has some marginal notes offering biblical references; citations for quotations embedded in text, usually from the church fathers; and titles of lists in text, such as "Six common oaths" (125); "Nine signs of a sound soul" (202), "St.Peters Eight signes of Salvation" (203); "Six great dangers in sin" (299); and "Nine profitable considerations" (302). There are a few comments to the reader, such as, "Note how God in all ages hath punished the breakers of his law" (300), and asides to the reader such as, "This is most mens case" (303). In general, however, the use of marginal notations in this book is quite sparse. When, later, Bunyan adopts the convention of notes, he does it with considerable restraint. While notes occur frequently in his margins, they are never extensive or luxuriant (as they are, say, in Baxter's works, where they often dominate a page); perhaps he learned the grace of sparseness in the margins from such works as Dent's.

Bayly's The Practice of Pietie, another sturdily popular religious book reprinted in forty-two editions from 1612 to 1695, is somewhat more profuse in its use of marginal notes.[23] The marginal notes are linked to the central text by miniature lower-case letters in superscript, as are the notes to the early editions of TPP. Bayly's notes are frequently Latin quotations or Greek transcriptions and explanations, suggesting that the audience addressed by the margins is more learned than is the audience of the central text. In some notes, the reader is offered bibliographic references. For assistance in explicating the meanings of the various names of God, for instance, the reader is advised, "See Master Wilson's Dictionary of the Bible, most profitable for this purpose" (B-46). Sometimes the margins perform the same function as scholarly footnotes do today, as when Bayly states that his analysis about the age of the world is:

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[23] One interesting edition of Bayly's book in the Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, is "printed in Edinburgh . . . by the Heires of Andrew Hart, 1636" [STC 1617.5]. The book cover is stamped with the initials M.B., and a collector's note in the inside of the back cover suggests that this might possibly be the copy owned by Bunyan's wife, Mary Bunyan. Unlike the London editions of Bayly's book, this one is printed without marginal notes. If it were, indeed, the copy by which Bunyan made his acquaintance with Bayly's work, then the use of marginal notes in Bayly as discussed here could not have been an influence on Bunyan's development of the convention. However, I am assuming that this is a highly conjectural and recent note. All other editions of the Bayly book which I have investigated have marginal notes as described here.

> After Mr.Robert Pont
> his computation.
> Treatise of the last
> decaying age of the
> world, published,
> Ann. Dom. 1600.
> Robert Pont Treatise
> of the last age,
> page. 17. (414)

The reader of Bayly's book is also offered explanatory notes about everything from biblical geography (131) to theology (601-02). The margins include asides to the reader, such as, "This place, well urged, had grinded Arius in pieces" (B-28), and, "Papists dare not deny this" (758). An indexing function is served with such notes as, "The damned soules Apostrophe to her body at their second meeting" (B-92), contrasted to "The elect Soules Apostrophe to her body at her first meeting in the Resurrection" (B-127). Bayly offers biblical references, usually to buttress or support the teaching he is offering rather than merely to annotate quotations. And while his tone is usually that of the cool cleric, when he becomes really exercised--as in recounting the story of the two fires in the godless town of Teverton, he places a dramatic summary in the margin:

> Whilest the
> Preachers cryed in
> the Church,
> prophanenesse,
> profanenesse, Gain
> would not suffer
> them to heare:
> therefore when they
> cryed fire, fire in
> the street, God

> would not suffer any
> to helpe. (433)

This marginal note operates as a miniature narrative, complete with direct speech in a formal choral form, and a cast of characters including collectively-presented preachers and the allegorical character of "Gain." Examples of such artistic miniatures, we shall see later, were created by Bunyan in the margins of his narratives.

Luther's Commentary on Galatians (1545, trans. 1574) is another book in which the convention of marginal notes is a very significant feature. Since this book was highly influential in Bunyan's spiritual quest and intellectual development, it is of particular interest. The margins are not the work of the original author, but rather, as in the Authorized Version of the Bible, are the interpretive and explanatory notes of the translators, identified only as "certaine godly learned men [who] refuse to be named, seeking neither their own gaine nor glory" ("Epistle to the Reader").

These "godly learned men" operate as mediators between Luther's translated text and the reader. They offer explanations of unusual words in the text: "The Alcoran is a book containing the Turks religion, received by Mahomet a false prophet that was among them" (Fol.16). They explain a difficult--and for Bunyan, highly important--figure of speech, prosopopoeia, explaining it as "a figure, whereby things that have no life are fained personally to speak, or to be spoken to" (Fol.184 a.v.). Such explanatory notes indicate that the assumed audience of the marginal notes is not erudite, but rather the common reader in need of further simplification of the text. This is an important difference between the marginal notes in this work and Bayly's, for instance. The model of addressing the common reader in the margins is one which Bunyan follows.

The teaching of the central text is summarized in pithy adages such as, "The Divell troubleth not those that are dead and biried in sin, but those that are godly and hate sinne" (Fol.2, B-2, au verso) or, "Christian righteousness not wrought by us, but wrought in us" (Fol.7). Here, too, one occasionally finds a miniature drama: "Sin and conscience, two fiends vexing and tormenting us" (Fol. 15); or vizualization: "Christian divinity beginneth at Christ lying in the lap of the Virgin Mary" (Fol. 17, a.v). This is the kind of precisely drawn miniature or drama Bunyan later uses to good effect in the margins of his allegories.

Since the voice in the margins is entirely different from the authorial voice of the central text, the marginal notes in Luther's Commentary continuously modify the text. Luther writes, for instance, "We are contented to eat the same meats that they eat, we will keep their feasts and fasting daies, so that they will suffer us to do the same with a free conscience." The translators comment, not a little condescendingly:

> Luther was content
> in the time of
> blindnes to beare
> with those things
> which now in the
> light of the Gospell
> are utterly to be
> rejected. (Fol.47
> a.v.)

The text with marginal notes is significantly different from the text without marginal notes; the more enlightened, English voice in the margin directs the reader's response and earnestly contends, if not for the faith itself, at least for the most Puritan and English expression of it.

The voice of the translators in the margins also makes direct application of Luther's words. Asides and warnings are directed to the reader: "See what we fall into when we neglect this doctrine. . ." (Fol.8). Where the text is specifically directed to the "Germanes," the translators appropriate it for their English audience. For example, Luther writes,

> . . . when the light of the Gospell, after so great darkness of mens traditions began to appeare, many were zealously bent to godliness: they heard Sermons greedily and had the Ministers of God's word in reverence. But now . . . many which before seemed to be earnest disciples, are . become plain hogs and belly-gods. . . . (Fol.27)

The translators make a direct application in the margins to their English audience:

> This may well be
> said of us
> Englishmen, for our
> heart is soon
> cooled, and that may
> appear by our cold

> proceedings at this
> day.

When one considers the urgent personal motivation with which Bunyan came to the text of Luther's Commentary, one can imagine how he read it, text and margins, margins and text, with a kind of zeal which would have endeared him both to Luther and to the translators, could they but have known how he would read. What he found there, along with spiritual reassurance, was yet another way of using marginal notes: as a place for a voice mediating the text to the reader. In such a mediating voice, he would use his margins to interpret, explain, expand, and apply his allegorical narratives.

Bunyan found comfort in counting himself among the faithful witnesses whose stories are told in Foxe's Actes and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs (Latin 1554, trans. 1563), a book which he reportedly had with him in prison (Brown 153). The narrative of religious persecution gave an inverse form of consolation to suffering non-conformists, making this massive work immensely popular, with expanded editions appearing in 1570, 1576, and 1583. Telling, as it does, stories of Christian martyrs from the first century to the sixteenth, this work became, next to the Bible, a staple of Protestant family reading with editions appearing throughout the seventeenth century. While admittedly this monumental work lies outside the reach of Spufford's study of "penny" books available to the poor, it really is hard to talk, as she does, about "the nature of the world of imagination . . . opened to the unlettered reader of the seventeenth century" (258), without taking into account the influence of Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Bible.

This work is central to Bunyan's own. For Bunyan and the many like him who were part of a persecuted church, reading this work placed suffering and exclusion in a context that extended to the earliest days of the church. Non-conformists were a minority, marginal in the society in which they lived. Through the Book of Martyrs they were offered an identity, a way of belonging to something great and heroic.[24] For Bunyan, there were themes here that could suffuse twelve years of imprisonment with a sense of sharing in the long life of the faithful and suffering church. Foxe would be just the thing for a man who could imagine himself dying for his faith,

> mak[ing] a scrabling shift to clamber up the Ladder. . . . with the Rope about my neck; onely this was some encouragement to me, I thought I might now have an opportunity to speak my last words to a multitude which I thought would come to see me die . . . . (GA 334-35).

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[24] Nor is gaining of strength coming from a sense of historic solidarity with a persecuted and suffering community entirely a thing of the past. The November 19, 1991 CBC evening news carried a BBC report on the recently-released hostage, Terry Waite. Waite showed to the camera a card he had treasured while in prison, the picture depicting John Bunyan in prison, writing with a quill pen. In solitary confinement for the four years during which he was detained, Waite was sustained by a sense of community and historic continuity with other persecuted Christians.

The impact of Foxe's Book of Martyrs on Bunyan's narrative style would bear careful study; doubtless it is a more immediate and influential source for his writing style than Bevis of Hampton. And he would have read these stories, margins and all. The margins are an impressive aspect of this huge work, indexing the pages of dense black letter print with the names of the martyr whose story is being told. Sometimes, what is most noticeable is the tone of the voice in the marginal notes. For example, at the beginning of Volume III, before continuing with stories of more recent martyrs, a complete English text of the Mass is annotated with marginal notes in a particularly biting and sarcastic tone. Of the instructions in the Mass, ". . . here may the priest commend all his friends to God," the gloss asks "And why not his enemies also?" (3). The same tone is heard in the margins when the mass-book text instructs, "Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand and the third piece in the right hand upon the brink of the chalice, saying this with open voice: World without end." The sarcastic voice in the margin comments: "It is time to speak at last, for he hath gone a mumming all this while" (5).

In the narrative, too, or alongside inserted documents such as letters or the texts of sermons, the marginal notes "speak" to the reader outside of the voice of the narrative text, supplying additional information, and sometimes building anticipation. Adjacent to the text of the martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, the margins supply this word concerning a monk mentioned in Cranmer's "Letter of Purgation . . . against certain slanders":

> This Monke was
> Doctor Thronton, a
> cruell murtherer of
> Gods people, of
> whose horrible end
> ye shall reade
> hereafter. . . .
> (III.94)

Margins also serve an indexing and summarizing function valuable in so vast and dense text as this. And, of course, there are ubiquitous Bible references.

After examining the format and the use of marginal notes in the range of seventeenth-century literature which most certainly influenced Bunyan's own work, we still must acknowledge that the overwhelming influence on his work was the Bible, and the Bible in the format familiar to a late seventeenth-century English commoner. It is evident that Bunyan used the Authorized King James Version (AV) for his adult reading, given the overwhelming preponderance of quotations from that version. His acquaintance with the Geneva Bible is clear from occasional distinctive quotations from it.[25] It may, perhaps, have been the Bible of his childhood, when it was still a very popular translation.

In his prefatory essay to a facsimile edition of the 1560 Genenva Bible (1969), Lloyd Berry says, "The single most important feature of the Geneva Bible consisted in the marginal notes" (15). These notes became much more Calvinistic in flavour when the notes by Laurence Tomson, a linguist conversant with twelve languages and expert in Hebrew (DNB 9, 949) were added to later editions, along with the Junius notes to the Revelation (Berry 16). The Geneva Bible was much loved by the English Protestants, especially because of these interpretive notes. Berry quotes from John Eadie (The English Bible II [London 1876]): "[A]ccording to Fuller, when the version was disappearing, they complained that they 'could not see into the sense of Scripture for lack of the spectacles of these Genevan annotations.'" (23).

This image of the marginal notes as "spectacles" is of particular interest to our study, suggesting as it does the way in which the original readers of seventeenth-century texts "saw" marginal notes--or rather, "saw through" marginal notes to the main text. It also reminds us that marginal notes were not mere accessories to text. Bunyan's marginal notes may seem irrelevant or distracting to some twentieth-century readers, but to his original, intended audience, they were a means to understanding, a way of "seeing into" his text.

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[25] One such example occurs in TPP when Christian describes his lineage--"I came of the Race of Japhet whom God will perswade to dwell in the Tents of Shem" (46)--using the distinctive phrasing of the Geneva Bible, "God persuade Japheth, that he may dwel in the tentes of Shem," rather than, "God shall enlarge Japheth" as in the AV text of Genesis 9:27.

The Tomson and Junius notes were added to the AV in a 1642 edition, meaning that Bunyan undoubtedly had the best of two worlds from an English Calvinist point of view: the Authorized Version with its excellent translation notes, together with Tomson's stoutly Calvinistic interpretive notes. This annotated edition of the Bible presents the reader with a dense and complex text which invites active, involved reading and virtually precludes passive or casual reading. The complexity of the text compels the reader to engage in study.[26]

The notes are of several kinds. First, there are the "translatours notes" which are a standard part of the Authorized Version. Variant readings are indicated within the text and in the margins with distinctive printers marks: daggers indicating Hebrew equivalents; vertical parallel bars indicating alternative translations. The translators defend their notes in the preface, "The Translatour to the Reader," itself a document accompanied by marginal notes. The marginal note which summarizes their defence begins, "Reasons moving us to set diversity of senses in the margine," and in the text, the translators ask the reader, "[D]doth not a margine do well, to admonish the Reader to seek further, and not to conclude or dogmatize upon this or that peremptorily?" (x).

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[26] Evidence that Bunyan used this particular edition of the Bible may be found in his mention of marginal readings of the Scripture which exactly conform to Tomson's notes. For example, "David was called a man after God's own heart; to wit, because he served his own generation, by the will of God, or as the Margent reads it, after he had in his own age served the will of God" (A Holy Life [1683], MW 9 316]), Bunyan here quoting precisely the Tomson note accompanying Acts 13.36. The copy I have examined for this discussion is a 1649 reprint for the London Stationer's Company of the 1642 edition with Tomson/Junius notes.

Marginal notes offering variant readings may be seen to destabilize text. "[M]argins, glosses . . . will perhaps always have an undermining effect . . . on determinate meaning" (Cunningham 235). But the translator's notes also expand the range of possible meanings, creating a text which opens out on a range of meanings, all of which are potential in the original text. This possibility of expanding or opening-out meanings creates in the reader the necessity of critical reading, weighing and considering and holding final judgement in a kind of continuous tension with present reading. It keeps the reader aware that the meaning which is being arrived at in the interaction with text is merely a reading, one of the many possible ways of responding to the richness of meaning which is potential in the text. The effect of presenting a text with such paratextual apparatus is that the text is seen as inexhaustibly rich, accessible at many different levels, and continuously inviting further scrutiny and reflection.

Besides the translators' notes of possible variant readings, to which it is clear Bunyan gave careful attention and thought, there are several other types of marginal notes in the 1642 edition of the Bible. There are cross-references to verses containing the same word or touching on the same theme, indicated by an asterisk in the text matching an asterisk in the margin. And there are the extensive commenting notes by Tomson. These explanatory and doctrinal notes are linked to the appropriate point in the text by means of superscript lower-case alphabet letters.

The whole effect is of a richly pointed, very complex text, daunting to the modern eye. To read this text with understanding was the great challenge and joy of the newly, and often barely, literate reading public of England. So totally would such a task involve the reader in the making of meaning that it is not surprising that the reading of the Bible was fundamental to the English experience of text--and, indeed, of meaning--for centuries to come.

In his use of marginal notations alongside the central text of his narratives, Bunyan is producing books that look like those he has read. This inherited convention for both producing and interpreting text is a complex one which Bunyan uses artistically and intentionally. His margins are neither extrinsic nor insignificant in a full reading of his narratives. They are part, not only of the visual format which presents itself to the reader, but also of the entire reading experience which Bunyan offers his readers.

Not all of Bunyan's works look alike, indicating that he is aware of a decorum or necessity which dictated the use or non-use of marginal notes. He does not merely create marginal notes out of obeisance to convention. His autobiography for example, does not require marginal notes--perhaps because it requires only one voice, his own. In sermonic and polemic materials, Bunyan follows the sparsely annotated format of the published Puritan sermon or even dispenses with notes entirely. When he turns to fiction, he discovers that the use of marginal notes supplies a device which heightens the verisimilitude of the story by placing the author's voice (as distinct from the narrator's voice) outside the narrative. In his allegories, Bunyan exploits the convention of marginal notes to its fullest, finding in it a form which allows him to separate the voice of the narrator from that of commentator, of the dreamer from that of the interpreter.

Some of the popularity of Bunyan's works must lie in the success with which he involved his readers in the process of coming to meaning and discovering significance. In this, the format of marginal notes and central text forming a dual, interactive text plays a vital role.

CHAPTER 3:

SELF-CONSTRUING ARTIFICE: FORM AND FUNCTION OF BUNYAN'S MARGINAL NOTES

It would seem unlikely that the use of marginal notes was by mere chance a convention of Renaissance text production. It does not just happen that "overall, the amount of marginal annotation increases over the period . . . from 1475 to 1640" (Slights 687), flourishes in the late seventeenth century and then disappears rather suddenly. After the end of the century, except for a few very specific literary uses, such as in Pope's Dunciad or Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner, the use of marginalia integral to text virtually disappears.

In this chapter, we will first examine the metaphysical underpinnings of the dual Renaissance text, examining the ways in which philosophy and form are interrelated in this particular textual representation. We will then move on to a pragmatic discussion of the ways in which the marginal notes function in interaction with the central narrative text. It will become apparent from our discussion that when the philosophical conditions of text requiring commentary ceased to exist, other methods of dealing with the pragmatic functions for which they existed were developed.

I.

"[L]iterary phenomena . . . spring from the whole mental life of the period in question" observes C. S. Lewis (Allegory 58), and the literary phenomenon of the Renaissance book page, with its dual text comprising narrative or expository text flanked by additional notes, unified by the page itself, conforms to a vision of reality. The unity-in-dualism of text and comment on each page gives a visual reproduction of the underlying reality for the Renaissance person. The human being was, as Sir Thomas Browne memorably proposed,

> That great and true Amphibium, whose nature is disposed to live . . . in divided and distinguished worlds; for though there bee but one world to sense, there are two to reason; the one visible, the other invisible. (42)

According to this prevailing understanding of reality, man lives in two realms at the same time, the material or created world and the spiritual or "immateriall" world. The physical-temporal world was truly linked to the spiritual-eternal world, the natural world providing a whole range of analogies by which the spiritual-eternal world could be grasped and understood through a system of correspondences.[1]

In an important essay which traces the decline of this belief in nature as a "divine analogy" by which the spiritual and ethical world could be understood, Earl R. Wasserman explains the system of analogical correspondences which was familiar and commonly held in the Renaissance:

> [This] system of analogical correspondences . . . was accepted as 'scientific,' not fictitious, for it was assumed that God, expressing Himself in all creation, made the physical, moral, and spiritual levels analogous to each other and to Himself. . . (40)

Wasserman sees the "intricate network of analogical relationships" gradually, from the late seventeenth century onward, being replaced by connections made between the various levels of reality by means of psychological association, these much weaker connections more easily expressed in similes than in the metaphors which came so readily to hand for Renaissance writers.[2]

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[1] A late Puritan expression of this series of correspondences exists in Jonathan Edwards, Images or Shadows of Divine Things, unpublished until 1948. Perry Miller who discovered and edited the ms. sees Edwards deeply influenced by both Newtonian physics and Lockean sensationalism, yet continuing the tradition of Renaissance thought in seeking to find "the inherent truths by which God spoke through Nature no less surely than by the Bible." Edwards thought that "typology, extended to nature, would reveal the underlying order and the providence of God. Thus typology would supersede trope by representing the real correspondences of an ordered and much loved world." Miller sees Edwards as having shifted the centre of truth "from revelation to the perceiving mind, so that Edwards is in many ways parallel to Wordsworth in seeking a vision of reality and unity through nature" (Intro, XX).

It is interesting that at about the same time the clear sense of a dual and analogically connected universe gradually passed away, the dual, interactive text also passed out of use. One could not, of course, argue a simple cause and effect relationship: numerous other, non-ontological factors, including changes in book size, entered into the passing of the fashion of marginal notes which had originated in medieval manuscripts and been adapted to printed books. Obviously, the format of text plus notes developed for such large-scale volumes as Foxe's Book of Martyrs was less well suited to the small octavo and even smaller duodecimo books which began to dominate the popular literary scene in the later part of the seventeenth century. However, even such small-format volumes as TPP, printed "at a low ebb in regard to the art of printing . . . for those who could purchase but inexpensive books" (Harrison xxvi), persisted for some time in being annotated, suggesting that it may be more than mere historical coincidence that a pervasive conceptual construction of reality and a form of textual presentation which so accurately reflected it should have thrived and faded away together.

Nor can one lightly pass over the coincidence of Bunyan's choosing the allegorical mode, and his use of the dual-text format. There is a metaphysical dimension to this format of text-plus-marginal commentary that makes it absolutely in harmony with the allegorical impulse: the reality is greater than the appearance; the allegory is the sum of what is shown and the invisible reality to which the signifiers of the story point. It is both dream and interpretation. Allegory as a literary mode bears witness to a belief structure which relates the seen and known to an unseen, all-encompassing reality. Edwin Honig says,

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[2] For other discussions of the late Renaissance "paradigm shift" in viewing and expressing reality, see Lewis,(Discarded Image), Lovejoy, and Nicolson.

> [A]llegory is an . . . instrument of thought and belief. Essentially part of the impulse Aristotle calls metaphysical . . . allegory reveals a fundamental way of thinking about man and the universe . . . . It constantly reappears . . . on the borders between religion or philosophy and art, serving to frame significant questions about the nature of illusion and reality. (7)

In a standard, conventional form, Bunyan found a way, as had Langland before him, to present visually the inner reality of the allegorical form. The format itself is mimetic of the analogical mode of thought which developed through the Middle Ages and was still characteristic of the Christian humanism of the Renaissance.

As an imaginative construct, allegory creates mimesis not by the naturalistic representation of scene or character so much as by a faithful rendering of a view of a dual reality. For Bunyan and those who share with him a world-view shaped by the Bible, the temporal and spiritual worlds exist side by side, the spiritual interpenetrating the temporal. As twentieth-century readers, we tend to find the "truth" of Bunyan's narratives in his faithful rendering of human speech and character and experience. That is, we tend to locate truth within human experience. Bunyan's first readers, however, would have tended to find the "truth" of his narratives in the marginal notes which linked the fiction of the story to the reality of the metaphysical realm revealed by the Bible, locating truth in scriptural revelation as it stands beside and over human experience.

Bunyan's initial unease about using an allegory to present truth, anxiously expressed in his "Apology" for TPP, is occasioned by more than an intellectual debate about the relationship between fiction and truth. However little taught in the rhetorical tradition he may have been, Bunyan is heir to a rhetorical definition of allegory as "dissimulation." Allegoria had been termed "the figure of [false semblant or dissimulation]" by Puttenham (155). Because it said "under covert and darke terms" one thing while meaning another, this figure represented a potential subversion of signification. Spenser uses the term, "darke conceit" as a synonym for allegory, drawing on a tradition which sees truth as too lustrous to be viewed directly by the eyes of fallen man, and therefore requiring the veil of allegory in order to be apprehended.

Medieval and Renaissance allegory is written in the belief that there is a real possibility of error because there is a real possibility of apprehending, however indirectly, "true truth." The potential in any reading of allegory for a wrong interpretation means that allegory requires commentary, as Spenser acknowledges in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh:

> Sir knowing how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed, and this booke of mine, which I have entituled the Faery Queene, being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I have thought good aswell for avoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for you better light in reading thereof,. . . to discover under you the general intention and meaning. (ll. 1-9)

So intrinsically related are allegory and commentary that Frye makes commentary a condition of defining allegory, stating, "We have actual allegory when a poet explicitly indicates the relationship of his images to example and precepts, and so tries to indicate how a commentary on him should proceed" (90). Angus Fletcher also sees the control of interpretation as fundamental to allegory: "[A]llegorical works present an aesthetic surface which implies an authoritative, thematic, 'correct' reading, and which attempts to eliminate other possible readings" (305). Whether embedded within the narrative as in Dante's Divine Comedy or Spenser's Faerie Queene, or set forth in a dual, interactive format as in Langland's Piers Plowman and in Bunyan's narratives, authorial comment as a control on the interpretation of the allegory is a part of the mode.

The reader who ignores or resists the commentary which is an intrinsic part of the allegorical mode does so at peril to any kind of reading of the work which honestly attempts to recuperate and interact with the meaning rather than merely to assimilate the work to his own political doctrine or vision of reality. With regard to the relationship between "Literature and Belief," David Daiches states:

> Literature of any scope can never be independent of beliefs, for the devices the writer uses . . . depend at every point on the relation between object, situation, or incident, and the place they hold in human attitudes and creeds. When attitudes and creeds change, that relation will change, and the reader will have to recapture that attitude artificially if he wishes to appreciate the work fully. (221-22)

Without attentive "recapturing" of the vision of the nature of truth and reality which governs Bunyan's thought, modern readers will always see the marginal notes very differently than did those who first read them.

For Bunyan, as for earlier writers in the allegorical tradition, telling truth by means of fiction meant harnessing a potentially deceptive mode for the service of truth--a daring act of redemption by which "feigning words /Make truth to spangle, and its rayes to shine" (Apology, 4, ll.1-2). Bunyan justifies this redemptive use of language by means of pleading the use of a "biblical poetics," that is, of adopting modes and forms of narrative which are used in the Bible.[3]

The allegorical frame of thought would doubtless have come to Bunyan from folk-sources, especially from the sermon, in which the use of allegory was a tradition that went back at least as far as the Franciscans (Owst, 485-90). But his formal introduction to the mode probably came through his study of the Epistle to the Galatians. The allegorical mode is operative in several places in Galatians: the Old Testament covenant of law is depicted as jailer (3:23) and as pedagogue (4:1-3); under that covenant, humanity is depicted respectively as prisoner and as child. In Chapter 4 of that epistle, St.Paul makes use of a particularly convoluted allegory (verses 21-26). He identifies earthly Jerusalem with Mount Sinai, the place of the giving of the law, and links it with Hagar, the mother of Abraham's child (Esau), born outside the promise of God. This child born outside of the covenant of grace, under the law, St.Paul identifies with Judaism. He goes on to identify the heavenly or spiritual Jerusalem, with Sarah, the mother of Abraham's child (Isaac) born of God's promise and miracle. This child of promise St.Paul identifies as the Christian Church. The complex allegorical equivalencies are, then: Hagar=Sinai/Law=earthly Jerusalem=Judaism; and

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[3] On the ancient and medieval origins of "biblical poetics," see Curtius, 446-67; on the post-Reformation application of biblical poetics, see Lewalski, Ch.2, "Biblical Genre-Theory" (71 ff.).

Sarah=heavenly Jerusalem/Grace=Christian Church. This allegory St.Paul in turn links to an Old Testament allegory which depicts Israel as a previously-barren wife called into a celebration of motherhood (Isaiah 54, a part of which is quoted in vs. 27). St.Paul appropriates the text and imagery of the Isaiah allegory to the Sarah=heavenly Jerusalem=Church theme.

With his love of words and riddles, Bunyan could not but have been fascinated by this complex allegory. But in addition to the sacred text, he had a triple commentary to respond to. First, the Tomson notes alongside the biblical text identify and draw attention to the allegory, and comment upon it in a series of numbered notes to verses 21, 27, and 31:

> [6] . . . the apostle . . .
> bringeth forth an allegory,
> wherin he saith, the holy
> Ghost did shadow out to us,
> all these mysteries . . . .
> [7] He sheweth that in this
> allegorie, he hath followed
> the steps of Esay . . . .
> [8] The conclusion of the former
> allegory.

At the next remove from the text, Bunyan had Luther's Commentary on Galatians. In this text, Luther expresses surprise at St. Paul's identification of both "Sina" and the earthly "Jerusalem" with "Agar."

> I durst not have been so bold to handle this allegory after this manner, but would have called Jerusalem Sara or the New Testament . . . and I would have thought that I had found a very fit allegory. Wherefore it is not for every man to

> use allegories at his pleasure: for a goodly outward show may soon deceive a man and cause him to erre. (Fol. 218, au verso.)

In this comment, Luther draws attention to the unusual geographic and thematic linkages in this allegory, and at the same time to difficulties inherent to the literary form of the allegory, expressing concern that allegory has to be carefully explicated lest it should be misunderstood.

A third level of commentary with which Bunyan had to deal in his formal encounter with the biblical art of allegory was the cautionary marginal note of the translators, adjacent to Luther's discussion of the allegory: "It is not for every man to dally with allegories." It should be a matter of small wonder, then, that Bunyan felt a need to write an "Apology" for TPP. If the interpretation of even a divinely-inspired biblical allegory had to be hedged in with warnings and precautions about the difficulty of handling allegory correctly, how much more cautiously would an allegory of human devising need to be explained.

It should not surprise us, either, that Bunyan relies on the use of marginal notes to keep his stories interpretable at every point. With each explanation, an episode in the greater allegory becomes an explained emblem or parable, accessible to the reader at an immediate and consciously verbal level. With each biblical reference, Bunyan links his story to the Scriptures, both clarifying the message and authorizing the chosen mode of address.

In the layout of the page, the marginal notes occupy the edges, the space that normally would be white space. It is clear enough that the marginal notes affect the progress of the eye across the line from left to right. If the reason for the margin around a page is to frame the words and limit the motion of the eye at the ends of a line to aid legibility (Glaister 315), the inscribed margin has the effect of continually breaching this frame, tugging the eye past the story into another discourse mode signalled by a different size of print, another length of line--and thus continuously teasing the mind of the reader to consider meaning beyond the frame of the narrative being read.[4]

By pointing beyond the story to the biblical text and beyond the biblical text to the spiritual reality which it represents and illumines, the biblical references in Bunyan's narratives continually assure the reader that there is meaning beyond the immediate apprehension of the story. By means of the many scriptural references, the narrative is explicitly linked to the universal history of the Bible, drawing the narrative--and the individual who "reads himself" in it--into the great universal history of creation, fall, and redemption, the whole grand story of "that famous Continent of Universe" (HW 8).

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[4] Pollard states, "No one, so far as I am aware, has ever written on The Philosophy of Margins" ("Margins," 67). Since then, Derrida has, of course, written about the _Margins of Philosophy_ which, while quite another topic, has drawn critical attention to the edges of discourse and experience.

The marginal notes are points of intensely important intersection, operating in intermediate space between human, imaginative text and the divinely inspired, sacred text of the Bible. In the margins, metaphor and interpretation, word and Word, man-made narrative and God-inspired narrative meet. Through the insistent presence in the marginal notes of biblical references, the reader is confronted with the authority of the Bible. In Bunyan's work, this is not merely the summoning of an external authority to grant some sort of legitimacy to the narrative he is presenting, but rather a continual referring of the narrative to the source of meaning, the ground of story, the literature in which the larger meaning of life and language is to be found.

The marginal notes also operate in an intermediate space between the narrator of the story and the reader of it. Through the marginal notes, the reader is invited into an ongoing encounter not only with the larger spiritual reality to which the narrative points, but also to an ongoing encounter with the author of the story. The experience of the story is mediated and interpreted, even "translated," by the voice in the margins. The reader is therefore not on his/her own in making meaning of the narrative being read, but is continuously reminded of authorial intention, and is continually granted authorial assistance and guidance.

This aspect of the marginal notes reflects the Protestant conviction that one is not alone in approaching the sacred text, but enabled by the Holy Spirit to apprehend the spiritual truth that is there. Jesus had promised his disciples "the Comforter" who "w[ould] guide [them] into all truth" (John 14:26; 16:13). The Greek word translated "comforter" is parakletos, one "called to one's side, i.e., to one's aid" (Vine 208).[5] In his authorial alongsideness in the marginal notes, then, Bunyan imitates the function of the Holy Spirit whose authorial presence makes Scripture "plain and perspicuous" (Milton, Christian Doctrine, Ch. 30). The convention of the author being thus present to guide and direct the reading and interpreting of the allegory is in perfect harmony with the theology of making meaning from spiritually-informed words by the "alongside" presence of the Holy Spirit.

The authorial presence in the margins is an analogue to a firmly established Reformation principle of biblical interpretation aided and guided by the presence of the Author. As the reader is never unaware of the author, so the narrative is never autonomous, divorced from the author. It is owned, commented upon, interpreted by the author or translator. The author's presence is thus quite explicit, as it continues to be in fictional narration until late in the nineteenth century. The apparent "quaintness" of such insistent authorial presence is a result of a change in literary conventions which, by the turn of the twentieth century, mandated that the author attempt to create the fiction of his or her own non-presence. Post-modernist metafictional writing is demonstrating again the vitality of authorial intrusion and comment; familiarity with these techniques will recover conventions and make the techniques of early fiction seem less strange.[6]

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[5] The Greek I borrow.

Bunyan stands at the end of a very long tradition in the writing of religious allegory. After his work, allegory falls into a long eclipse from which it has only recently emerged.[7] Bunyan's use of allegory is much more anxious than that of the earlier allegorists who could assume that the necessary analogical connections existed and who could draw on a vocabulary of symbol even without the aid of the marginal notes, relying on embedded clues and a shared repertoire of symbolic imagery and accepted correspondence to guide the reader's interpretation. Bunyan is writing at the end of one tradition of mimesis and the beginning of another. His text-plus-note presentation, with its insistent identification and explanation, visually confronts the reader with a unity maintained against a widening fissure. For even as Bunyan writes, the two realms of reality, the material and the spiritual which, throughout the Middle Ages and deep into the Renaissance, had coexisted in unity, have begun to divide. Paradoxically, the format of Bunyan's allegories affirms at once unity-in-duality and the duality itself.

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[6] Booth discusses both authorial voice and authorial silence, 169-205, 271-300. On metafictional techniques, see Hutcheon, esp. 36-56; on the relationship between conventions and beliefs, Brinker; on the naturalizing of conventions, Culler, Structuralist Poetics, ch.7.

[7] As recently as 1959, Honig begins his work on allegory with an apology: "There is a pervasive feeling against allegory" (3). Since then, such important works as Fletcher's study of allegory, integrating psychological and literary insights (1964) and Quilligan's inquiry into the way in which language operates in allegory (1979) have demonstrated the resurgence of interest in this literary mode. The current interest in self-conscious narrative forms favours further investigation of such modes as allegory, as does the interest in the reading experience. In fact, the theme for the 1992 annual conference of The International Society for Phenomenology and Literature is "Allegory Old and New--In Literature, the Fine Arts, Reality."

II.

We now turn from the philosophy of form to the pragmatics of function. Because marginal notes are such highly complex literary elements, it is useful to have some method of classifying and discussing them. While previous attempts at bringing order to the discussion of marginal notes have been made, they are, at best, incomplete. Although Slights lists fifteen functions of Renaissance marginal materials, he does not consider his list to be comprehensive. "[T]he list of functions for marginalia is not intended to be complete, and some items in it overlap others." The fifteen functions which Slights identifies are: amplification, annotation, appropriation, correction, emphasis, evaluation, exhortation, explication, justification, organization, parody, pre-emption, rhetorical gloss, simplification, translation (687).

Another classification is made by Keeble, discussing Bunyan's marginal notes specifically. Keeble links marginal note functions with the various authorial _personae_ speaking in the margin. When the author speaks in the margins in the _persona_ of interpretive guide, he supplies biblical texts to serve as interpretive key or to comment on the story, adds a gloss on a particular symbol or character, draws out the thematic drift of incidents, or sharpens the satirical bite of the narrative. When the author speaks in the margins as preacher, he directs a passage to a particular sector of his audience, admonishing, encouraging, and exhorting. And when the author speaks as writer, he establishes his own integrity by identifying outside sources, draws attention to his art by summarizing or signposting the plot, or indicates to the reader an appropriate response to story (148-51).

The taxonomy of functions for marginal notes which is proposed here is simpler than the list of functions suggested by Slights or the categories according to _persona_ suggested by Keeble. It is, however, comprehensive enough to allow a classification of the marginal notes in Bunyan's narratives; I suspect that it might well do for categorizing marginal notes in many other Renaissance works as well. For each marginal note, it allows a classification according to one or more of four kinds of function, and one or both of two types of effect. The four functions are: to refer, to index, to interpret, and to generalize. Any particular marginal note may perform one or more of these functions in its position adjacent to text. In their effect on the narrative with which they are juxtaposed, the marginal notes may be either text-reflexive or text-extensive--and in some cases, operate in both ways. Text-reflexive notes reflect further attention to the nearby narrative text. They may modify, intensify or ameliorate the effect of the adjacent narrative text. Text-extensive notes invite the reader's attention to move beyond the narrative. They extend the narrative by amplification or application.

The most frequently used marginal notes are those which **refer.**[8] Annotations of scripture texts quoted or alluded to within the narrative text comprise the greatest number of Bunyan's marginal notations. However, as Bunyan explores his scope as a fiction writer, he quotes less and alludes more, embroidering his narrative with marginal biblical references which, rather than merely annotating pericopes, operate to bring to mind themes or ideas.

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[8] In terms of Slights' list of functions, reference may be seen as amplification by means of additional evidence or examples; as appropriation of a text to the narrative at hand; as annotation of material quoted or alluded to in the narrative text; or as providing additional evidence or examples.

To see how complex is the interaction between marginal notes and narrative text even in straightforward annotation, we can look at an example from _TPP_. Christian is asked by Obstinate "What are the things you seek, since you leave all the world to find them?" Christian replies:

> *I Pet. 1.4 I seek an *_Inheritance, incorruptible,
> undefiled, and that fadeth not away_; and it
> is laid up in Heaven, *and fast there, to be
> bestowed at the time appointed on them that
> Heb.11.16 diligently seek it. Read it so, if you will,
> in my Book. (11)

The first biblical reference in the adjacent margin annotates the italicized, embedded quotation. The "inheritance" spoken of in the annotated quotation is, we are told, "laid up in Heaven," Bunyan here choosing to use an unannotated phrase closely akin to the phrase "reserved in heaven for you," which he might have quoted from I Peter 1:4, but in a slightly differing form which occurs twice in the AV: "the hope which is laid up for you in heaven" (Col. 1:5) and "there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness" (II Tim. 4:8). The passive past tense of the verb places the emphasis on the agency of grace. This inheritance is not something which Christian is going to lay up for himself, like the treasure which Jesus told his disciples to lay up for themselves in heaven (Matthew 6: 19,20). The "inheritance" which is spoken of here is the free gift of God--already laid up for the believer in

Heaven.

Not only is this inheritance "laid up." It is also "fast," or secure, ready "to be bestowed at the time appointed on them that diligently seek it." Again, the verb is passive; the believer's inheritance is a grant of grace--laid up for him, bestowed on him. The marginal annotation to this phrase is problematic. Although the first two editions of TPP annotate it with "Heb. 11.62," this is an error, there being only forty verses in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. The emendation in the definitive edition to "Heb.11.16" will do, but that verse does not have the precise turn of phrase which one would expect, reading: "But now they desire a better country, that is an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city." What we seem to have in the annotated sentence is a collation of phrases from Hebrews: the "hope . . . both sure and steadfast" of Heb. 6:19; the time "appointed unto men once to die" of Hebrews 9:27; and the God who "is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him" of Hebrews 11.6. One might expect that the reference intended is this last one. Here, then, is an example of a single annotation for several texts collated within the text. The erroneous reference may well be an example of Bunyan's working from memory without taking time to check the reference in his Bible. But it may, in this case, be a printer's error caused by misreading the author's note.

Might not Bunyan have written "Hebrews 11:6" followed by a comma which was interpreted by the typesetter as a "2"?

Turning to *HW*, we find an example of a different type of marginal biblical reference: one in which the citation is not for specific scriptural words or phrases quoted within the text, nor for a collation of such quoted words and phrases as in the example above, but rather in which the citation serves as a reference for a related theme or idea. In the description of the original state of Mansoul, Bunyan writes:

> [T]he founder, and builder of it, so far as by the
> best, and most Authentick records I can gather,
> was one *Shaddai*; and he built it for his own
> delight. He made it the mirrour, and glory of
> Gen.1.26 all that he made, even the Top-piece beyond any
> thing else that he did in that Countrey . . .(9)

The scripture reference is to a verse which reads in part, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness . . . ." The annotation is not for any specific word or phrase within the narrative descriptive paragraph, but rather for the idea lying behind it: humankind as the mirror of God's glory and the crowning act of creation.

We might postulate that what was happening for the intended reader was that the marginal gloss was operating alongside the narrative, almost subliminally, creating a sense of authority and trustworthiness which would have added a sense of significance to every line; presenting a context for the many scriptural pericopes, and thereby widening and extending the meaning of the quoted phrases by placing them in association with the greater whole from which they are taken. The use of any biblical reference confers authority upon the narrative text adjacent to it. As with the paragraph we have just looked at from TPP, the invitation in HW is to go beyond the story to the Bible. "Read it so, if you will, in my Book" says Christian to Obstinate (TPP 11), implying: "Don't take it on my word. Read it in the source." Similarly, the reader of HW is implicitly invited to "look it up" in "the best, and most Authentick records" available.

The reader is also expected to care about that larger context, and, if need be, to "search the Scripture" in the same way in which congregations were expected to go home after a sermon and "prove" the teaching by reading the text within its biblical context, and to evaluate carefully the teaching received. While Bunyan takes scripture texts out of their contexts and trims or collates them to fit his narrative passage, he is at pains to indicate by means of the references where the greater whole can be found, inviting the reader to check on the legitimacy of his use of each text.[9]

While by far the greatest number of the marginal notes which function to refer are biblical references, in Mr. B.

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[9] The especially severe judgement on a character named "Clip-Promise" suggests the great care with which scripture was to be used (HW 242-3). "Clipping a promise" would refer to a specific misuse of Scripture, namely quoting a promise without its attendant preconditions.

Bunyan also makes use of Samuel Clarke's Looking Glass for Saints and Sinners, and a number of anonymous sources of anecdotal illustrations. In TPP 2, the referring function becomes circular as Bunyan refers to page numbers in TPP where the prior, parallel narrative events occur, making TPP 2 an extension of TPP as well as vice versa.

The second major function of the marginal notes is to **index** the narrative.[10] This they may do by supplying titles which indicate, in outline, the structure of a segment of the work. An example of this may be found in the headings which mark the "causes of the hubbub" and the main events in the trial of the pilgrims in Vanity Fair (TPP 90-97). The titles of the third and fourth "causes of hubbub" were added to the second edition; many of the marginal notes which identify parallel elements throughout TPP were added to the third edition, suggesting that without them there was an observable deficiency in the text. In HW, parallel elements are identified and emphasized with rubrics such as "The speech of the Lord Willbewill" and "The speech of Forget-good the Recorder" (49). In the trial of the Diabolonians, the trial of each of the vices follows a standard format signalled in the margin by "X set to the bar"; "His Indictment"; "His plea" (119-124). These titles at once index the story and emphasize the repetitive pattern of its structure.

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[10] Indexing marginal notes perform at least three of the functions which Slights identifies: they create emphasis, provide organization, and simplify the text.

Marginal notes also index the narrative by means of titles or summaries supplied for main events within the narrative sequence. Examples of titles or rubrics abound: in TPP 2, for example, we find such headings as, "Talk at Supper" (205); "A fight betwixt Grim and Great-heart" (219); "Greatheart's Resolution" (258). We can establish a distinction between summary and title on the basis of summaries having a verb or verbs in them, while titles are phrases without verbs. Succinct summary statements are abundant. "Christian findeth his Roll where he lost it" (TPP 44) will serve as an example. A series of telegraphic indexing summaries occurs in the margins to the narrative of the battle for the conquest of Mansoul: "The Battel joined, and they fight on both sides fiercely"; "Eargate broken open"; "The Princes Standard set up, and the Slings are plaid still at the Castle" (HW 87-91). These further demonstrate the use of marginal notes to index the narrative.

Marginal notes which **interpret** the allegory to the reader make up the third group of marginal notes.[11]

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[11] Functions which Slights identifies as explication and rhetorical gloss I subsume under the general function of interpretation. There is some overlap with other functions: biblical references sometimes offer interpretive clues to the allegorical or emblematic elements in the adjacent text, thus serving both the referring and the interpreting function. Interpretive marginal notes may also be seen to serve an indexing function.

Interpretive marginal notes occur frequently at the beginning of HW. Beginning with marginal notes to the preface ("To the Reader"), and continuing through to the end of the narrator's prologue, a series of notes identifies and interprets allegorical elements. "[M]y Master" in the narrative text is identified in the margin as "Christ"; the "fair and delicate Town . . . called Mansoul" is interpreted in the margin as "Man." "[A] famous and stately Palace" in the centre of the town is glossed "The heart" (7,8), and so on. After this initial flurry of interpretive activity to ensure that the reader has the right "key" to the allegory, the marginal notes settle down to their more pedestrian referencing and indexing functions. Nonetheless, the large number of specifically interpretive glosses which occur in the HW (the Captain, Wall, and keepers of the Gates of Mansoul are identified as "Heart," "Flesh," and "Senses" respectively [22], for example), suggest that Bunyan was aware of the new level of difficulty which his more ambitious epic presented to his readers. Whenever new elements are introduced into the allegory, there is another rush of interpretive marginal notes (see, for example, 103-05).

Such interpretive notes are noticeably more prevalent in HW than in the other, more accessible, allegories. However, at each point at which Bunyan may feel that the reader needs additional help with interpretation, such notes appear in the other works, as well. Thus, the parchment roll given to Christian by Evangelist is interpreted by a marginal note to be the "Conviction of the Necessity of Flying" (TPP 10); a note in TPP 2 serves both to index the arrival of the divine messenger to Christiana and to interpret the spiritual meaning of both messenger and message: "*Convictions seconded with fresh tidings of Gods readiness to pardon" (179).

Interpretation is also given by notes which indicate that the narrative text is to be taken ironically, as in the twice-repeated aside "O brave Talkative" (TPP 77); or to warn that the narrative text contains untruth, something which seems to make Bunyan particularly uncomfortable and anxious to gloss for correct interpretation: "Thats false Satan," charges a marginal note--not so much directed to the Evil One as to the possibly unwary reader (HW 39). So, too, the note beside Diabolus' speech, identifying it as "Satanical Rhetoric" (HW 20) is designed to keep the reader reading critically and not acceptingly. Since, according to a cryptic marginal note, it is "Satan [who] reads all backwards" (HW 193), the reader is warned to keep alert and to read the narrative under the author's guidance and in accord with his intended meaning.

The fourth class of marginal notes are those which **generalize** the message of the narrative into an epigrammatic exhortation for the edification of the reader. An exhortation may be indirectly addressed to the reader through a warning or instruction given to a character within the allegory, as in the frequently repeated "Take heed, Mansoul" and "Look to it, Mansoul," which operate like flashing amber lights in HW (167-70), creating foreshadowing of the next segment of the story and also alerting the reader to personal spiritual danger.

Many of these didactic generalizations are terse and pithy enough to stand individually as adages or epigrams. Rather than quoting generalizations from classical or other sources, Bunyan draws conclusions from the story itself, or, perhaps, sometimes illustrates an adage by means of the elaboration of the story. "No great heart for God, where there is but little faith" is the didactic generalization drawn from the story of Little-Faith--or illustrated by it (TPP 129). A common-place observation in Mr.B is succinct and rhythmic, if somewhat obvious: "A bad Master, a bad thing." Doctrine is stated tersely, often sounding like the response to catechetical questioning: "Original sin is the root of actual transgressions" (Mr. B 17). In HW, the generalizations are often in the form of warnings, common-place statements which state a generally accepted fact and, at the same time, imply a warning: "Cumberments are dangerous" (HW 173); or "Satan cannot weaken our Graces as we ourselves may" (HW 143).

While marginal notes which interpret and those which generalize occur much less frequently than marginal notes which refer to other texts and those which index the narrative text, they have attracted greater critical interest, simply because such notes are more obviously interesting in themselves. However, all the functions of the marginal notes are worthy of attention. And it is worth remembering that some of the most complex and interesting interactions between marginal notes and narrative text occur when marginal notes function in more than one way at a time, as when reference notes offer interpretation, or interpretive or generalizing notes also index the story.

Marginal notes can further be characterized in terms of their effect on the adjacent text. They may interact with the adjacent narrative by emphasizing, intensifying, or ameliorating the effect of the text. Marginal notes which thus direct the reader back to the text for another reading may be called **text-reflexive**. Marginal notes may draw the reader into considerations beyond the text, expanding the meaning of the text by linking it to the Bible or other intertext or by applying the text to the reader's own experience of life. These marginal notes may be termed **text-extensive**.

These two effects of marginal notes on the adjacent text reflect the inherent duality of the act of reading.

"Whenever we read anything," Frye points out,

> we find our attention moving in two directions at once. One direction is outward or centrifugal, in which we keep going outside our reading, from the individual words to the things they mean . . . . The other direction is inward or centripetal, in which we try to develop from the words a sense of the larger verbal pattern they make. (Anatomy 73)

In Bunyan's texts, as the reader re-creates the links between episodes and engages with the adventures of the characters, the ongoing narrative of the main text carries the centripetal impulse. This centripetal impulse is aided by text-reflexive marginal notes which continually force the reader back into text, emphasizing elements within the narrative and aiding interpretation of it. Text-extensive marginal notes, on the other hand, are related to the centrifugal pattern of reading by which the story is linked to larger conventions of meaning, the signifiers of the story forged into an indissoluble association with signified concepts, doctrines, and the spiritual experience of the reader.

The ideal reader of Bunyan's margins is one who is so well versed in the Bible as to be able to summon the scripture text, together with its context, from the reference supplied. And such a reader is not an unreasonable construct. Margaret Spufford cites the Rural Recollections of one George Robertson, who describes minutely details of life in the Lothians from his earliest memories, before 1765. In describing the reading habits of the farmers of the area, Robertson wrote:

> [N]o book was so familiar to them as the Scriptures; they could almost tell the place of any particular passage, where situated in their own family Bible, without referring to either book, chapter, or verse; and where any similar one was situated. (47)

To be "well-versed" in the Scriptures by the standard of the non-conformists of the seventeenth century--and for a long while thereafter--was literally to know the Bible by chapter and verse. It seems probable that Bunyan expected his reader to be able to summon from memory the entire text and immediate context of the scriptures to which he refers in the margins. To be sure, the actual reader of Bunyan's narratives may not always have been so well-versed as this; for some, the marginal notes may have made a sort of Bible study guide. But the assumption on which the notes are created seems to be that the verses referred to are accessible to the reader and continuously add meaning or interpretation to the narrative passage to which they are adjacent.

Biblical references are most often text-extensive. As quotations draw the intertext of scripture into the text of the narrative, so the annotations draw the text of the narrative back into the Biblical intertext, causing a sort of knitting up of the two texts, Bible and narrative. Marginal notes may amplify the narrative text by providing a link to a biblical exemplum: Lot, urged to flee from Sodom despite the mocking of his family, is set up as a parallel to Christian in his flight from the City of Destruction by means of a reference note (TPP 10).[12]

The marginal references may extend the meaning of the text by relating it to an inter-testamentary flow of meaning. From Old Testament story to New Testament commentary back to Old Testament parallel is one of the frequent patterns, reflecting Bunyan's view of the Bible as one book, not two. This extension of the narrative text by links with the entire, unified canon of Scripture is very clear in the "reference strings" which occur in the margins alongside collations of quotations within text or supplementary to the text itself. To take just one example, the eclectic list of textual references which accompany the description of the work of grace in the soul in Faithful's discourse with Talkative would be a challenge for anyone to link together without the aid of the adjacent text.[13] In such marginal collections of references, however, each scriptural text amplifies the phrase embedded in the narrative by placing it in the larger context of the Bible and in creative juxtaposition with other scriptural texts.[14]

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[12] The Lot story is also referred to in Christian's response to Charity's questioning of leaving his family behind (TPP 51, passage added 2nd ed.); and in the "strange monument" whose inscription Christian and Hopeful make out to be "Remember Lot's Wife" (108-10, also added 2nd.ed.) Both passages are glossed with marginal references to Genesis 19. The addition of these passages suggests that Bunyan may have noticed the Lot motif on a later reading of his book, and decided upon further development of it.

[13] The references are: John 16.8, Romans 7.24, John 16.9, Mark 16.16, Psal. 38.18, Jer.31.19, Gal. 2.16, Acts 4.12, Matth. 5.6, Rev. 21.6 (TPP 83).

Sometimes Bunyan supplies a "wide-net reference" rather than a precise textual reference--annotating a passage with a whole chapter. While some of these "wide net" references may be the result of a slip in memory, and may have indicated a place where Bunyan meant to look up the verse number to complete the marginal note, some seem to be intentional invitations to the reader to consider not just a specific verse but an entire passage. This seems to be the case when a paragraph in TPP is attended by four full-chapter references: Heb. 10, Rom. 4., Col. 1 and I Pet. 1, each chapter in its entirety applicable to the discussion about salvation by grace which is being carried on within the narrative (141).

Early in TPP when Evangelist, "pointing his finger over a very wide Field," asks Christian, "Do you see yonder *Wicket-Gate?," the adjacent marginal note is to the whole chapter of "Mat.7" (10). By annotating the "Wicket-Gate" with a chapter reference rather than with the specific verse reference, Bunyan encourages the reader to get to the text about the strait gate and narrow way by way of earlier texts in the chapter, and so greatly expands the implications of the "wicket-gate" image. The chapter referred to begins with a warning against judging: "Judge not that ye be not judged" (7:1); goes on to encourage asking, seeking and knocking: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you" (7:7); and only then actually creates the image of the gate: "[S]trait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matthew 7:14).

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[14] The antiphonal effect of this "reference string" in interaction with the narrative text will be discussed in Chapter 4.

By means of the whole-chapter annotation, the reader is invited to form an image of a small gate, difficult to see with the "natural" eyes of human reason, but also a gate at which entry is available to every one who "asks, seeks, knocks." The intentional use of this whole-chapter reference becomes more evident when, in TPP 2, Bunyan replicates Christian's knocking "more than once or twice" (TPP 25) in Mercie's frantic knocking at the same gate (187-88). With this repeated narrative detail, Bunyan demonstrates to the reader the efficacy of importunate "asking, seeking, knocking," and the great importance of not pre-judging whether one is called or not. All of this is implied in the original whole-chapter marginal reference to "Mat.7," with the full significance of referring to the "strait gate" in its larger biblical context gradually worked out through the two parts of the allegory.

Biblical references can also operate text-extensively by providing a scripture which is itself admonitory--such as the reference to "I Cor. 5.8" in the margins adjacent to a description of the feasting with Prince Emmanuel in the early days of the conquest of Mansoul (HW 148). The biblical text to which reference is made is a warning: "Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." This admonition is quite additional to the material in the narrative text, and supplies a warning note in the midst of the joyful feasting of the narrative. Similarly, in the margin adjacent to the passage in which "Christian bewails his foolish sleeping . . . . 'O wretched Man that I am, that I should sleep in the day time'" (TPP 44), a reference to "I Thess. 5.7,8" calls up an admonition which explains Christian's grief: "For they that sleep, sleep in the night . . . But let us, who are of the day, be sober." The pilgrim's sleeping identified him with the non-elect ("they that sleep"), rather than with the elect ("[we] who are of the day").

As these examples demonstrate, the many creative ways in which Bunyan uses the Bible become accessible to study by way of looking carefully at his marginal notes. Far from being an unnecessary frill, the many biblical references in the margins represent an important expansion of his communication and an extension of his narrative text.

Marginal notes offering didactic generalizations are also most often text-extensive. They, however, extend the text not into the realm of another text, but in the direction of a reader's own experience of life. Bunyan's generalizing marginal notes are in the spirit of the "application" of the Puritan sermon.[15] The Westminster Directory for the Publique Worship of God (1645) specifies six types of application or "use": instruction or information; confutation of false doctrines; exhorting to duties; dehortation, reprehension and publick admonition; applying comfort; trial or self-examination (15-16). Bunyan's hortatory notes encourage application, or extension of text into the life of the reader, in all of these ways.

The didactic generalizations very often offer instruction and information: "*There is no perswasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes" (TPP 2 39); "When Faith and Pardon meet together, Judgment and Execution depart from the heart" (HW 107); "Death is not welcome to nature though by it we pass out of this World into glory" (TPP 2 156); "Satan greatly afraid of Gods Ministers, that they will set Mansoul against him" (HW 40); "Mortification of sin is a sign of hope of life" (HW 196). The marginal generalizations also "confute" false doctrines or misconceptions. For example, the marginal note, "Christ would not have us destroy ourselves thereby to destroy our sins" (HW 144), is a brief refutation of asceticism.

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[15] John Wilkins' 'Ecclesiastes' or the Gift of Preaching and Sacred Oratory (1646) lays out three parts for the sermon: explication, confirmation, and application (6 ff.).

"Angels help us not comfortably through death" (TPP 2 157) dispels a popular myth which concerned Bunyan, that the proof of one's calling was a quiet and peaceful death.[16]

Exhortation to Christian duties is frequently found in the marginal notes as well: "Pray, and you will get at that which yet lies unrevealed" (TPP 2 203); "Notice to be taken of Providence" (TPP 2 269); "True Knowledge attended with endeavours" (TPP 2 82); "The world are convinced by the well ordered life of the godly" (HW 39). "Dehortation, reprehension & publick admonition" can be found in such generalizing marginal notes as, "A Lie knowingly told demonstrates that the heart is desperately hard" (Mr. B 18); "*Swearing and Cursing are sins against the light of Nature" (Mr. B 32); "Stupified ones are worse then those merely Carnal" (TPP 2 247).

The didactic generalizations in the margin also sometimes apply comfort, as when Bunyan cheerfully observes, "Christians are well spoken of when gone, tho' called Fools while they are here" (TPP 175). And for people whose lives seemed to be beset by problems as one wave of persecution followed another, there would be some comfort to be derived from knowing that theirs is the common lot of pilgrims: "The ease that Pilgrims have is but little in this life" (TPP 106).

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[16] Mr. Badman, despite total impenitence and sure doom, dies "As quietly as a Lamb," with the marginal note repeating the chilling phrase, "He died like a lamb" (Mr.B. 157). Christian, on the other hand, experiences a final crisis of faith as he crosses the River, and needs to be reassured, "These troubles and distresses that you go through in these Waters, are no sign that God hath forsaken you" (TPP 158). For further discussion of death-anxiety in Puritan experience, see Stannard.

In all of these ways, Bunyan's generalizing marginal notes, often finely worked literary elements in themselves, operate in a text-extensive way, condensing the message of the allegory into short messages intended to penetrate the mind of the reader, to be readily remembered, and to be directly applied to the reader's own life.

As compared with the text-extensive effect of many referring and generalizing notes, indexing notes are text-reflexive. They draw attention to elements which exist within the text, creating emphasis by reiteration of allegorical names or by focusing on parallel elements.

Indexing notes may intensify the narrative by repeating elements that are there. In TPP, when the text says, "you must note, that tho the first part of the Valley of the shadow of Death was dangerous, *yet this second part . . . was, if possible, far more dangerous," the already emphatic text is given further intensification by the explanatory marginal note: "*The second part of this Valley very dangerous" (65). In Mr. B, the distinctive indexing of stories Bunyan believes to be true on the evidence of reliable reports by means of the "index" or pointing finger device serves to emphasize these stories. If one is looking for a juicy seventeenth-century anecdote, one need only slide one's eyes down the margins to the first available pointing finger, the device serving in its traditional _nota bene_ role. And, given the nature of the _exempla_ which are designated with this device, the pointing finger gradually takes on the nature of a gesture of accusation.

Like the indexing marginal notes, interpretive marginal notes are also most often text-reflexive. They are explanations of elements within the narrative text and provide glosses or translations of those elements into spiritual or doctrinal terms. In some cases, the interpretation of the margins ameliorates the effect of the adjacent text, as when, during the second onslaught of Diabolus, the "young children . . . dashed in pieces" are explained to be "Good and tender thoughts" (_HW_ 204).

Even as little as a single word may create a marginal note which has the effect of modifying the adjacent text by offering an explanation which might not naturally spring to mind. This happens in _HW_ when Emmanuel charges the inhabitants of the Town of Mansoul to "love . . . nourish [and] . . . succour" his "valiant Captains, and couragious men of war." The passage is glossed with a marginal note: "Words" (143), which by its ambiguity forces a re-reading of the passage in order to determine whether it is the Captains who are to be seen as "words," or whether "words" describes the method of nourishing them. The intention seems to be that "words," probably as put to work in preaching or polemics, are to be equated with "Captains and courageous men of war." The single-word interpretive note modifies the effect of the adjacent narrative by forcing, through a slowed reading, a less-than-obvious allegorical equivalency on the reader.

When considering the welter of marginal notes in Bunyan's narrative texts, a consideration of these four functions (to refer, to index, to interpret, and to apply) and two basic relationships to and effects upon the adjacent narrative (text-reflexive and text-extensive), can provide a useful and relatively simple way of categorizing the marginal notations so that some sorts of useful considerations can be taken of them.[17]

Tiny as they are, the marginal notes to Bunyan's narratives are enormously complex in their functions and interactions with the narrative text. They are also frequently artistically wrought, producing their own special effects at the edge of the narrative. To these effects we will turn our attention in the next chapter.

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[17] There are still a number of interesting questions to be asked about a marginal note. One is to ask in which direction each marginal note is turned: does it look toward the reader or toward the text? Marginal notes with referring and indexing functions are oriented toward the text. Interpretive or didactic statements are directed toward the reader.

Another is to consider how lines of reference run. In the intermediate zone between narrative and reader and between referrer and referent, in which the marginal notes operate, lines of reference run in a number of directions: from a quotation or allusion in the narrative to its corresponding reference in the specific text quoted; from the narrative to the reader's experience; or from a marginal note across to the narrative at hand, as in indexing statements of various kinds. In some rare cases, there are even lines of reference from one marginal note to another.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ART OF THE MARGINAL NOTE: SPECIAL EFFECTS

Bunyan's biblically literate readers, their inner ears trained by hours of exposure to the cadences of the King James Bible and to the sounds and structures of the Puritan sermon, their imagination stocked with the images and landscapes not only of rural England but also of the Bible, would have come to the narrative text with a rich auditory and visual repertoire on which Bunyan was able to draw, not only through the central narrative, but also by means of the marginal notes. In this chapter, we will look at the art of the marginal notes, considering the aural and visual appeal they add in themselves and in interaction with the central texts of Bunyan's narratives. We will also consider two special effects produced in the reader by means of the interaction of marginal notes and narrative text: the affective response evoked by devotional iconography, and the playful response evoked by puzzle and game elements.

However much the Puritans may have urged a plain style, the demands of the oral form of the long sermon and the resources of the language encouraged them to make abundant use of such devices as word and sound-play and syntactical emphasis. Trained through exposure to the cadence and pattern of innumerable sermons, Bunyan's readers would quickly detect the aural appeal, reminiscent of pulpit stylistics, of such marginal notes as, "The Worldly Man for a Bird in the Hand" (TPP, 31). This marginal note is replete with the repetition of sounds: the "ir" sound in "worldly" and "bird"; the final "d" in "bird" and "hand"; and the rhyme of "man" and "hand." To all of this sound play is added wordplay in the form of an inverted proverb. The folk proverb being played on runs, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," and Bunyan by implication denies the validity of that proverb when applied to the spiritual world--the upside-down right-side-up kingdom of God in which man-made proverbs often work out all wrong.

There is also an aural appeal in such phrases as, "Things that are first must give place, but things that are last are lasting," (TPP 31) with the repeated "st" sounds and the play on meaning: "being last" (in position or rank) played off against "to last" (as a condition of duration). And again, as with the proverb above, the entire adage is itself an inversion of the common-sense view of things. It is, of course, an allusion to Jesus' paradoxical statement that "the first shall be last, and the last first" (Mark 10:31).

"He whose lot it will be to suffer will have the better of his brother" (TPP 87) is another paradox, this time offered in the form of a miniature poem with the near-rhyme of "suffer" and "brother" and the repetition of "t" and "b" sounds binding what is in effect a couplet in trochaic tetrameter. But it is also, in total, a word-game of the tongue-twister variety, again revealing the inverted order of things when the spiritual view of human reality is taken. From a this-worldly point of view, suffering is always bad, and it is better not to suffer. But from the point of view of spiritual progress, suffering can be an advantage; at its worst it can do no more than, as it does for Faithful at Vanity Fair, provide a short cut to the Celestial City (TPP 97).

Didactic generalizations are often polished enough to be characterized as epigrams or adages. An important element in the effectiveness of such miniature forms is the aural effect of a play on sounds. In considering one of any number of examples, "Christ makes not War as the World does" (HW 71), we immediately become aware of alliteration, vowel modulation, and slant rhyme in the sequence, "war" and "World." Emphasis is created by alliteration in a didactic generalization such as, "Sin, and the soul at odds" (HW 59). Sound-play occasionally grants emphasis to even something as simple as a brief summary of action. This is the case with the internal rhyme in "They chide on both sides" (HW 59), or in the repeated, military staccato of hard "c," "t" and "s" sounds in, "The Captains call a Council and consult what to do" (HW 62).

Even in the small space of a marginal note, syntax is used for artistic and emphatic effect. The periodic sentence structure of the marginal note, "'Tis not grace received, but Grace improved, that preserves the soul from temporal dangers" (152), is further enhanced by the use of parallel introductory noun clauses. Such parallelism and periodicity is a key feature of seventeenth-century preaching.

The multitudinous scriptural references would also have had an aural appeal, now very difficult to reconstruct. Where, for example, we encounter a string of references in the margins, for the original readers each reference would call up the text which it identified. As a result of rote memorization, slow and methodical reading, or repeated exposure to an oral production of the passage, such texts would often be voiced in the readers' minds. In Chapter 3, we referred to the list of textual references which accompany the description of the work of grace in the soul in Faithful's discourse with Talkative (TPP 83) as representative of many such strings of references. Perhaps we can recover something of the effect that the original audience might have experienced by writing out the passage in two columns, with the scripture written out in full as it would probably be "heard" and responded to on the cue of the references in the margins. The effect would have been a sort of antiphonal reading, with the words of the Scripture voicing themselves over against the words of the narrative text. This passage, then, would actually be read with the attention of the reader moving from the collation of ideas in the narrative text across to the marginal reference and the text it calls to mind, and then back to the narrative text (in this presentation represented in italics):

A work of grace in the soul . . . gives him conviction of sin,

John 16:9:
And when he [the Holy Spirit] is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.

especially of the defilement of his nature,

Romans 7.24:
O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

and the sin of unbelief,

John 16.9:
He will reprove the world of sin. . . because they believe not on me.

(for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not mercy at Gods hand by faith in Jesus Christ.)

Mark 16.16:
He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;

but he that believeth not shall be damned.

This sight and sense of things worketh in him sorrow

Psalm 38.18:
For I will declare mine iniquity; I will be sorry for my sin.

and shame for sin;

Jeremiah 31.19:
Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth.

he findeth moreover revealed in him the Saviour of the World,

Galatians 1.16:
It pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me.

and the absolute necessity of closing with him, for life,

Acts 4.12:
Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

at the which he findeth hungrings and thirstings after him,

Matthew 5.6:
Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

to which hungrings, &c. the promise is made.

Revelation 21.6:
I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.

In the reading I have attempted to demonstrate here, the reference as it stands in Bunyan's text would have cued the recall of the entire text, creating a voice in the margins which may be seen as similar to the kind of voiced texts that Bunyan describes as calling after him or "hollowing" at him in GA (e.g., para.93).[1] In such passages, Bunyan invites the reader to share his own personalized and voiced experience of the scripture through hearing and responding to the voices of scripture as they occur in the interplay of narrative text and marginal gloss, the text sometimes given voice within the narrative, and at other times requiring voicing from within the reader's memory.

In addition to the antiphonal effect of a marginally summoned scripture in interaction with the narrative text there is, occasionally, an echo effect of the gloss to text. An example occurs in the encounter between Atheist and the pilgrims in TPP. The text, after the pilgrims have told Atheist that they are going "to the Mount Sion," is as follows:

	Then Atheist fell into a very great
He Laughs	Laughter.
at them	Chr. What is the meaning of your

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[1] I have corrected the chapter number from "Gal.2:16" (Oxford edition) to the better reading of Gal.1:16. Gal.2:16 lacks the precise verbal echo from the narrative text which Gal.1:16 demonstrates.

> laughter?
> Atheist. I laugh to see what
> ignorant persons you are. . . .
> (TPP 135)

The scornful laughter in the text, emphasized by a triple repetition ("Laughter," "your laughter," "I laugh,") and intensified by adjectives ("very great"), is echoed from the margin by yet another repetition offered by the indexing summary note. The effect is that the reader, together with the pilgrims, is surrounded by Atheist's mocking laughter. When one adds to the repetition of "laughter" within the text the mocking laughter in the memory of many of the readers, this passage of the narrative takes on a painful intensity.

Another example in which the margin sets up an echo to the narrative demonstrates an even more complex and subtle effect. In HW, an attempted uprising in favour of Shaddai is termed within the narrative text as a "heavy riotous Rout in Mansoul." An indexing marginal note summarizes the action: "The two old Gentlemen put in prison as the authors of this revel-rout" (62). The repetition from the margin subtly draws attention to the ironic reading required of the words "heavy riotous Rout," a judgement of the event made from the Diabolonian point of view. In this case, the auditory echo functions to cue the sarcastic Diabolonian tone in the narrative and the ironic attitude of the narrator implied by the narrative text.

The marginal notes operate as visual cues as well as auditory ones. Some of the marginal notes, complete with an allegorical cast of characters and a summary of action, function as miniature scenes from a morality play. While the morality plays themselves had long been extinct on the English stage, the sermon had continued a long-standing tradition of embedding morality-play type dialogue or action within it.[2] Bunyan and his readers, schooled in the art of the sermon if debarred from the theatre, were sensitive to scenes in which the moral aspects of character were personalized, and in which the essential drama of the psycomachia was played out.

In TPP, such a morality drama occurs at the Slough of Despond. Here, the summarizing-indexing note heightens the sense of drama in a few words: "Christian and Obstinate pull for Pliable's Soul" (12). The moral qualities embodied by the characters are emphasized by contrasting type-face, Roman type used for the allegorical proper names and italics for the other words of the note. (This emphasis by type-face contrast is a frequent, if unintentional, feature of the marginal notes.) In this single marginal notation, with three allegorical characters and specific directions for action, Bunyan creates the summary of a scene which would be perfectly at home in a morality play.

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[2] G. R. Owst makes a convincing case for popular vernacular drama, both the morality and miracle, as springing from the medieval sermon in the first place (479 ff.). It should, therefore, come as little surprise that, by means of the sermon, the tradition would linger on deep into the seventeenth century and beyond.

Another instance of this sort of miniature drama occurs in the glosses to Little-faith's story where, again, characters and action are locked in a sequence of precisely drawn scenes of intense drama: "Little-faith robbed by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt" (125); "They got away with his Silver, and knoct him down" (126); "Little-faith lost not his best things" (126); "Little-faith forced to beg to his Journeys end" (126). In each note, the two primary elements of the drama within the narrative, character and action, are given further emphasis. Even some stage properties (Little-faith's Silver, and "his best things," identified in the narrative text as his Certificate and "Jewels") are identified for easy visualization. And, as always in these brief dramatic summaries in the margins, the moral of the drama is clarified by the bare repetition of allegorical names from the main narrative.

The action summaries in HW are also sometimes highly dramatic. The attack of Diabolus in his attempt to regain Mansoul is attended with marginal notes which are full of action verbs and which, taken in sequence, amount, if not exactly to such miniature dramas as those we have found in TPP, at least to stage directions for a larger drama. Thus, we read in the margins of Diabolus that "He makes an assault upon Eargate, and is repelled," that "He retreats and intrenches himself," that "He casts up Mounts against the Town," that "He bids his Drummer to beat his Drum," and that "Mansoul trembles at the noise of his Drum" (HW 188-89). And there are other tiny dramatic moments. Some are created by vivid verbs in the marginal notes: "Talkative flings away from Faithful," (TPP, 84) or "Christian snibbeth his fellow" (TPP 127); some by tight sketches of characters in dramatic situations, as in the readily-visualized description, "Captain Experience will fight for his Prince upon his Crutches" (220).

As we have noted earlier, Bunyan and his readers were familiar with the emblem books which were popular throughout the seventeenth century. The marginal notes serve to emphasize the emblematic character of some scenes, cuing the reader to visualize a particular scene in an emblematic mode. The three parts of an emblem (title, picture, and epigram) afford opportunity to use the marginal note as title, as description of or commentary upon the picture, or as epigram, with the central narrative text supplying a verbal delineation of the picture, and, perhaps, an elaboration of the epigram.

The most obvious example of "emblematization" is the marginal note to the narrative of Christiana's boys cringing back behind Great-heart at the encounter with the Lions. This scene, the marginal note tells us, is "An Emblem of those that go on bravely, when there is no danger; but shrink when troubles come" (TPP 2 218).[3] The marginal note operates here as epigram to the verbal picture in the narrative which, by means of the marginal note, is frozen into emblem. This "freeze-frame" effect is the most distinctive difference between emblematized scenes and the rest of the narrative, in which the characters are in motion. With a marginal note which offers either an emblem title or epigram, the motion is stopped, the characters suddenly "frozen" in their allegorical relationships.

The "Picture of a very grave Person" which Christian encounters as he first enters the House of the Interpreter is a characteristic emblem, with its elements emphasized by the margins (TPP 29). This emblematic vision of the true minister of the gospel has all three of the elements of an emblem: title ("a Picture of a very grave Person") answered with the internal rhyme of the indexing marginal note, "a brave Picture"; a description of the picture itself, indexed with the marginal note, "*The fashion of the Picture"; and an explanatory epigram, indexed in the margin by the note, "*The meaning of the Picture." The reading and thinking strategies acquired by the reading of emblem books are here directly transferred to a narrative text, with the marginal notes signalling the various stages of the process by which meaning is derived from the elements of the emblem form (TPP 29).

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[3] The term "emblematization" and the example given are Freeman's, 220.

The epigram phase of the emblem is accompanied in the margin with appropriate scripture references, which significantly modify the response to the description in the text, systematically translating physical detail into more abstract metaphoric terms. "The Man whose Picture this is . . . can *beget Children," says the Interpreter, and the margin answers the asterisk with "*I Cor. 4.15": "[I]n Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel." The pictured man can "Travel in birth with Children," and the startling physical image conjured by this statement is quickly ameliorated by its translation into spiritual terms by the reference, "*Gal. 4.19," where St. Paul addresses the Galatians as "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." Finally, the pictured man can "*Nurse them himself when they are born," with the cued visualization again ameliorated by the reference to "*I Thes. 2.7," where St. Paul reminds the Thessalonians that "we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children."

The narrative text at this point shifts from describing the emblem to offering a point-by-point explanation which is indexed by the marginal note, "The meaning of the Picture." Later, the marginal gloss "*Why he shewed him the Picture first" alerts the reader to a transition to be made from the inset pictorial emblem back to the larger narrative frame. Throughout the House of the Interpreter passage and other emblematic passages such as the discourse with the Shepherds at the Delectable Mountains (TPP 119 ff.) and the feast at Gaius' Inn (TPP 2 261 ff.), the reader is required to switch frequently from the mode of reading and visualization appropriate to an emblem, to the more generally allegorical reading of the story as a whole. In HW, the emblematic nature of the descriptions of the colours and scutcheons of the commanders both of Emmanuel's and Diabolus' armies (36-7; 186-7) are emphasized by the marginal notes which supply biblical references by way of interpretation, offering the reader the opportunity of more fully explicating each of the emblematic elements.

Another form of visualization to which the margins contribute is the creation of motif. We have already referred to the story of Lot fleeing from Sodom as an important biblical counter-point to the story of Christian's pilgrimage. A similar Old Testament story occurs as a motif in TPP 2. Although Christiana sets out on her pilgrimage accompanied by two neighbours, only one is prepared to go the distance with her: "Timorous forsakes her; but Mercie cleaves to her" (183). With the parallel structure and particular word choice of this marginal note, Bunyan uses the language of the book of Ruth to set up a parallel to the story of Christiana and Mercy.

> Orpah kissed her mother in law; but Ruth clave unto her. And she said, Behold, thy sister in law is gone back unto her people, and unto her gods; return thou after thy sister in law. And Ruth said, Entreat me not to leave thee . . . ."
>
> (Ruth 1:14-16)

This allusion by marginal reference establishes a biblical analogue to the Christiana-Mercie relationship. This implicit Naomi-Ruth motif in the background of the Christiana-Mercie pilgrimage is made explicit when the two women reach the House of the Interpreter, where the Interpreter says to Mercy:

> Thy setting out is good, for thou hast given credit to the truth, Thou art a Ruth, who did for the love she bore to Naomi, and to the Lord her God, leave Father and Mother, and the land of her Nativity to come out, and go with a People that she knew not heretofore. (206-7)

The Bible story creates a backdrop of visual imagery against which the Christiana-Mercie pilgrimage is set. A long and dangerous trip made by two women issues in a romance set in a barley field and resulting in a wedding celebration. It is a story full of the promise of new life. A typological reading of this story, familiar to Bunyan's readers, saw in its events a foreshadowing of the union of the Church (Ruth=Wife=Church) with Christ (Boaz=Husband=Christ). This pictorial motif creates the artistic conditions in which Christiana and Mercy's becoming mother-in-law and daughter-in-law (by means of the marriage of Mercy and Matthew [261]) is a fulfillment of design, even if it does not seem particularly apt in connection with the foreground of the pilgrimage narrative itself.

There are cases in which Bunyan uses a marginal note to cue the mental creation of small, precise pictures, similar to the vignettes drawn in the margins of medieval manuscripts.[4] A few examples will suffice to indicate the technique of vignette-cuing to which I am referring. "Christ Crucified seen afar off" (TPP 2 191) is a marginal note which invites the reader to envision a miniature but distinct crucifix. "Old Honest asleep under an Oak" (TPP 2 246) conjures, with some explicitness, a traditional picture of a bearded man sleeping under a large tree.[5] "*A good woman and her bad son" (Mr.B 63) creates a mental cartoon of a caricatured and stereotypic care-worn matron with an evil-looking son.

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[4] A vignette is defined as:

> [A]n ornamental or decorative design on a blank space in a book . . . usually one of small size or occupying a small proportion of the space; spec. an embellishment, illustration, or picture uninclosed in a border, or having the edges shading off into the surrounding paper . . . "
> (OED 1)

Frequently, marginal vignettes have affective overtones which create or intensify the emotional coloration of the adjacent narrative. For example, the step-by-step narrative of Emmanuel's withdrawal from Mansoul is emotionally heightened by the marginal notes which offer foreshadowing, "Christ withdraws not all at once" (HW 153). In the narrative, the motion of the present-tense verbs and the almost breezy folk-narrative style keeps the story going: "Wherefore what does he but in private manner withdraw himself . . . and so away from Mansoul he goes." But opposite this is the stark summary statement in the margin: "He is gone" (HW 154). In the three words of the marginal note Bunyan recreates the emotion of a great loss, "He is gone" capable of being read as a groan, or a gasp of realization--as well as of a statement of fact. It represents, with stark simplicity, an inexpressible loss and grief.[6] The marginal note creates a significant intensification of the affective quality of the narrative at this crucial point.

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[5] "Old Honest" under the tree is reminiscent of "old Adam" in the Forest of Arden who "hath many a weary step/Limp'd in pure love" (As You Like It II.vi; vii: 129-30). Tindall refers to "Bunyan's imitation of Shakespeare in 'Who would true valour see'" (278). Might this be the merest hint of another echo from As You Like It?

Even more complex is the relationship between marginal note and narrative in a passage where the referring marginal note goes beyond creating a vignette to affecting the narrative as an illumination might affect an adjacent passage in a medieval book. This occurs in TPP when Bunyan describes Christian at the cross. Within the narrative, the passage is almost disappointingly sparse. Anticipation of this event in the narrative has been carefully built. The "great burden upon his Back" is one of the first things we note about the pilgrim (8). It is this burden which almost does him in at the "Slow of Dispond" (15). And when at last Christian reaches the gate, we are as eager as he for relief, listening as he asks the gatekeeper, Goodwill, "If he could not help him off with his burden that was upon his back . . . ." This Goodwill cannot do, telling him, "As to the burden, be content to bear it, until thou comest to the place of *Deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back it self." The marginal note which answers the asterisk in the narrative gives a doctrinal statement: "There is no deliverance from the guilt, and burden of sin, but by the death and blood of Christ" (*TPP* 29). So, coming to this place of "deliverance" becomes an important, anticipated event in the story.

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[6] The impact of this three-word marginal is similar to the "She ys ded!" spoken by the narrator late in Chaucer's The Book of the Duchess (l.1309).

But when, finally, Christian comes to the cross, the scene is very bare of detail. A little hill. A bare cross. The burden loosed and tumbling, rolling into a tomb, open as a symbol of resurrection:

> He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a *Cross*, and a little below in the bottom, a Sepulcher. So I saw in my Dream, that just as *Christian* came up with the *Cross*, his burden loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from off his back; and began to tumble; and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the Sepulcher, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.
>
> Then was *Christian* glad *and lightsom, and said with a merry heart, *He hath given me rest, by his sorrow; and life, by his death*. Then he stood still a while, to look and wonder; for it was very surprizing to him that the sight of the Cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore and looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the *waters down his cheeks. (*TPP* 38)
>
> **When God releases us of our guilt and burden, we are as those that leap for joy*.
>
> *Zech.12.10.

Even with the description of Christian's joy and the doctrinal generalization in the margin, the passage feels inadequate to its significance in the story. But in the margin, an asterisk in the text is matched to a marginal reference which supplies the pictorial detail and emotional coloration that seem to be lacking from the text. The verse referred to in Zechariah says:

> And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son. . . (Zech. 12:10).

The reference note in the margins fully supplies the emotional component so understated as to seem to be lacking in the narrative. The verse from Zechariah invites the reader to envision ("look upon") the suffering Christ, with his six wounds caused by the piercing of nails, thorns, and spear. Such a visualization would evoke within the sensitive reader emotions of grief and joy parallel to those experienced by the pilgrim.[7]

But the Zechariah reference does even more. The Old Testament passage had long been assimilated into the Christian repertoire of Messianic prophecies, and would have also suggested the mirroring or fulfillment passages in the New Testament. One of these passages refers the reader to the historic moment of the crucifixion:

> . . . one of the soldiers with a spear pierced [Jesus'] side, and forthwith came there out

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[7] Again, a self-test of the reader is implied. The reader upon whom "the spirit of grace and of supplications" has been poured out, that is, who has experienced the work of the Holy Spirit in an effectual call into salvation, would share Christian's response of gratitude and joy.

> blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true . . . . For these things were done, that Scripture should be fulfilled. . . 'They shall look on him whom they pierced.'
>
> (John 19:34-37)

The other New Testament echo of the Zechariah reference refers to the reader forward to the eschaton:

> Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail [cf. "mourn"] because of him. Even so, Amen. (Rev. 1:7).

The Zechariah reference in the margin invites the reader to meditate upon the cross, significantly intensifying the emotional quality of the scene in the narrative, cuing an affective response in the reader much more profound than that suggested by the narrative passage alone. It also opens Christian's own experience at the Cross outward onto a panoramic view of the entire scope of God's saving act in Christ's death: as it was foretold, accomplished, and as it is yet to find final fulfillment. "A Man *cloathed with Raggs. . . a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his Back" has found himself, at the Cross, included in a cosmic drama. And with him, the common reader is invited, by a marginal reference which illumines the narrative, to experience sorrow for Christ's suffering, joy at its outcome in one's own salvation, and exultation in contemplating Christ's final and still-awaited victory. Without attention paid to the marginal reference at this point in the narrative, the full significance of the scene at the Cross cannot be appreciated.

In yet another kind of interaction with the narrative, the marginal reference chains in the margin may create a commentary which significantly ameliorates or intensifies the visualization invited by the narrative. An example of this is the marginal amelioration of the harsh action within the text in the scourging of the forgetful pilgrims by a "shining one" (134). The marginal chain of references explains the nature of God's chastisement of his elect people (134). The scriptures cited are "Deut. 25.2" in which a limited, judicial scourging is established as a suitable punishment: "[I]f the wicked man be worthy to be beaten . . . the judge shall cause him . . . to be beaten . according to his fault, by a certain number." This is followed in the margin by a reference to "2 Chron. 6. 26,27," which establishes the idea of affliction as a means God uses to bring about repentance: "If they pray . . . and turn from their sin, when thou doest afflict them; Then hear . . . and forgive." And finally, the pericope in the text, "As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore, and repent" is annotated in the margin with its scripture source, "Rev. 3.19."[8]

All of these scriptures need to be taken into account if the intended affective response is to be experienced by the reader. Rather than experiencing only a horrified withdrawal of sympathy from the "ministering angel," the reader who responds to the margins as well as to the text would reflect judiciously on God's mercy as it operates in chastisement in the life of the believer.

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[8] The reference should be Rev. 3.19 rather than 3, 19.

The marginal notes to Bunyan's narratives cue for the reader the natural creation of aural and visual effects which add to the pleasure of reading, subtly enriching and enhancing the narratives and intensifying or ameliorating the reader's affective response to the narratives. But they also elicit a deliberate and more conscious effort on the part of the reader. The marginal notes frequently invite the reader to enter into game and in particular cases offer the delight of pun, puzzle, and riddle. Word-games of various kinds, from the basic game of allegory through the specific games of solving word-puzzles and understanding proverbs or riddles, are features of the narrative text as a whole. The intense reader involvement Bunyan elicits is not quite as solemn as proposed by Iser, that is, caused by a reader's search for certitude of salvation (Implied Reader 18-24). Its intensity is also that of play.

A careful reading of the marginal notes turns up numerous interesting examples of marginal notes as puns, riddles, or enigmas, or as succinct solutions to riddles or enigmas in the narrative, the marginal note operating rather like a riddle solution which in a modern children's book may be printed upside-down at the bottom of the page on which the riddle appears. A marginal note as simple as a biblical reference--"I Pet 5.8"--serves as the solution to an in-text riddling allusion to "he that goeth about as a roaring lion" (TPP 39) Nothing in the narrative text identifies this "he," but the marginal notation turns the reader to the scripture which says, "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil goeth about seeking whom he may devour." The reference to "Hos. 14.9" placed adjacent to the narrative describing the discourse of the shepherds at the Delectable Mountains provides another example of a riddle being solved by a text (TPP 119). In this case, the verse referred to says:

> Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein.

In other words, the riddling style of the shepherds is designed as a "code" which can be "unscrambled" only by those who have spiritual knowledge. Here, by being able to play the game of recognition of references, the reader discovers herself to be an insider to information which is closed to others.

Enigmatic marginal notes set up puzzles for the reader: "Knowledge and knowledge" (TPP 82) and "A way and a way" (TPP 132) are examples of such puzzles, solved only by previous "inside knowledge" or a close reading of the text. For the reader who immediately understands the two kinds of knowledge (spiritual and carnal) intended by the gloss, or the two ways (the true way of salvation, *via* Christ and the cross, and the false way by means of human effort), there is the pleasure of "getting the right answer" to a self-test. For the reader puzzled by an enigmatic marginal note, there is the invitation to go back into the narrative text to re-read for full understanding.

The marginal gloss "*Award of grace" (TPP 42) seems at first glance to be a straightforward emblematizing gloss on the adjacent narrative, where it is linked by asterisk to the "*Arbour, made by the Lord of the Hill, for the refreshing of weary Travailers." But it also may be a pun on "a word of grace" which would be another way of saying "gospel." It is through the speaking of the word of grace that those who have been attempting to gain assurance of salvation by their works--"weary travailers"--learn that it is "by grace you are saved through faith . . . not of works lest any man should boast" (Eph. 2: 8, 9), and thus find the refreshing

Reformation Arbour of salvation through grace alone.[9]

Another example of a punning marginal note occurs in HW when Mansoul discovers that the Prince has withdrawn. A marginal note describes the condition of the Mansoulians: "They are all agast" (156). This is an ironic pun, powerfully played alongside the narrative text where, "my Lord Secretary [i.e., the Holy Ghost] . . . whom they had grieved with their doings" was inaccessible to them (157). The very serious problem is that they are not "a-ghast" in the sense of being filled with the Holy Spirit, but rather "aghast," shocked, at his having withdrawn from them.

There may well have been family games based on the shared oral reading of a segment of TPP followed by the quotation of marginally cited scriptures by various family members. But at every reading a more subtle kind of game was certainly being called for by the referring notations, a serious game to be sure, but a game nonetheless. The self-affirming pleasure of recognition leads to the mental effort of conjuring the text (or, perhaps, looking it up) and then of relating the marginal note to the narrative text, or of relating marginal notes one to the other. The marginal notes create intense reader involvement by inviting the reader into games of "Can you recall?" "Get it?" "Go back and check."

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[9] Throughout TPP there is punning on the interplay of meaning between "travel" and "travail," used to mean "travel" as well "labour," in both physical work and childbirth applications. Thus, to travel with Christian is to leave behind one's travail for salvation. Atheist's laughter is prompted by his contemplation that they "take upon you so tedious a Journey; and yet are like to have nothing but your travel for your paines" (135), doubtless a use of the word "travel" with the implication of childbirth travail which brings forth nothing.

The referring notes also invite vigorous mental activity as the reader is challenged to relate scripture to scripture, scripture to narrative text, scripture to life. The continually present words, characters, and stories of scripture open out at the side of the ongoing narrative like a mirrored hall through which the reader could go from Bunyan's narrative to biblical narrative and back again with ease. Linking of Old Testament texts and New according to the internal rules of any particular reference string is in itself a mental exercise demanding considerable sophistication. Related passages from Old and New Testament are often cited together, with lexical or thematic links to be established by the reader. "*Mich 7.8" is cited together with "*Rom. 8.37" after Christian's battle with Apollyon (TPP 60). The Old Testament passage says, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me" (Micah 7:8). The New Testament assertion is that "[I]n all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us" (Romans 8:37). Here, the link between the two passages is thematic: the idea of victory over an enemy is repeated in the two passages, in widely different contexts. In other reference chains, the reader might find a key word linking all of the texts, or texts which represent Old Testament type and New Testament fulfillment.

With every set of references which is not direct annotation for quotations within the narrative, there is room for the "game of the margins" to be played: recalling a text within its immediate, local context, and juxtaposing it with other scriptures related to each other, and then to determining the implied relationship to the narrative. Discovering the thematic, linguistic, or typological links between scriptures, or between scripture and narrative text, would have been a challenging mental game for the attentive and competent reader.

It is not necessary to accept the theory that Bunyan had covert political intentions expressed through his writings to find some interesting "hidden messages" in the narrative text and marginal notations which may well have been intended as coded messages of hope and comfort to a persecuted people. Christopher Hill makes an interesting comment concerning the relationship of biblical commentary and political statement: "Seventeenth-century use of Biblical commentaries to make covert political suggestions has never, I believe, been properly studied. It could be a way of discussing the undiscussable" (Turbulent, Seditious, 323).[10] The game element of detecting and responding to such consoling messages may have been an important part of reading for those who, like the author himself, were experiencing persecution that ranged from scorn to imprisonment and confiscation of property.[11]

A marginal note, "*Christian had into the Study, and what he saw there" (53), identifies the point in TPP at which Christian is initiated into his role as part of a suffering people. As the passage at House Beautiful offers both Christian and the reader the comfort of a lineage of persecuted believers, so a passage during the indictment of Faithful and Christian by the court at Vanity Fair affords the sense of continuity between the current persecutors and great persecutors of the past. The Judge in his speech to the jury makes reference to the legal precedence of persecution established by Pharoah, Nebuchadnezzar, and Darius, with mention of them respectively annotated in the margins by references to "Exod. 1," "Dan. 3" and "Dan.6" (TPP 96). By identifying these persecuting kings as servants to the prince of Vanity Fair, none other than "our noble Prince Beelzebub" (94), Bunyan places the contemporary persecuting king, Charles II, in very dubious company and in very disreputable service.

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[10] I presume that Hill means that it could have been a way of discussing the undiscussable.

[11] Considerable recent research has illuminated the nature of the persecution experienced by the Puritans during the Restoration. See Cragg; Greaves, Deliver Us; Hill, Turbulent, Seditious and The Experience of Defeat.

In the account of his pilgrimage prior to meeting up with Christian, Faithful talks of an encounter with one who is called "this bold faced Shame," a swiftly-sketched character of oxymoronic name, who embodies the general contempt and opprobrium which nonconformists had to endure. Shame "objected *the base and low estate and condition of those that were chiefly the Pilgrims" (TPP 72) and an asterisk in the narrative at this point is answered by the marginal notation, "*John 7.48." This is a particularly interesting textual citation added to the second edition and only obliquely connected to the narrative. The verse asks: "Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?"--most surely a question which those of Bunyan's persuasion would have been asking about the contemporary religious and political leadership of England.

A similar subtle reference to the spiritual impercipience of those in power occurs in the passage of narrative describing the fall of "Vain-confidence." A marginal reference beside the narrative describing "a deep Pit . . . to catch vain-glorious fools withall" is to "Isa.9.16." The text referred to, rather than merely echoing the adjacent passage, states: "For the leaders of this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed" (*TPP* 112), surely a hopeful message for Bunyan's readers.

Twentieth-century readers probably do better with the larger game of Bunyan's narratives than with the specific interplay of references and narrative. We can, at least in theory, still respond to the game of allegory, in which the concrete sign stands for a generalized or abstract referent. (Or, to use Bunyan's own definition of his "method," which "Doth call for one thing to set forth another" (*TPP* 6, 1.15).[12]

Bunyan grows into the game of language as he grows in confidence as a thinker and a writer. In the preface to *GA*, the convert who had been called from his game of cat into an experience of God is very serious:

> God *did not play in convincing of me*; *the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sunk as into a bottomless pit . . . : wherefore I may not play in my*

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[12] Forrest calls allegory, as it is used by both Spenser and Bunyan, the "sacred sport in which the mind is managed through exposure to certain suggestions to which the reader is induced to respond" ("Allegory as Sacred Sport," 98). Honig sees Bunyan's "Apology" to *TPP* to be "an appeal to accept the fancifulness of the allegory as an imaginative sport" (99). Quilligan sees allegory as fundamentally rooted in wordplay, rooted in the Mass in which the central images retains identity yet signify something different from themselves (63).

> relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was. (3-4)

It is obvious from this statement that Bunyan has had to fight against a powerful impulse to "play" in his presentation. Fortunately for his readers, the play impulse in language and life was too great to be held in check permanently. By the time he writes the "Apology" for TPP, Bunyan is able to defend his choice of playful language vigorously, if anxiously. Admitting that his original intention was merely "mine own self to gratifie" (1, 1.24), he acknowledges the fun element of creating story: "I set Pen to Paper with delight" (1,1.29). He asserts boldly that, on the basis of biblical precedents, "I have leave" to write in an allegorical mode (5, 1.33), announcing a new freedom both in the exercise of his craft and in his relationship to a "God . . ./[Who] guide[s] our Mind and Pens for his Design" (6, 1.11).

After the success of TPP, Bunyan accepts play as a legitimate mode of conveying truth, and the apologies to his later allegories become increasingly confident. In the prefatory verse "To the Reader" of HW, no apology for the allegorical method is offered; indeed, the speaker in the verse speaks from within the allegorical mode, affirming "That Mansoul's matchless Wars no Fables be" (4,1.7). Thus, in HW, Bunyan plays the game of allegory from the very outset. By the time he "sends forth" TPP 2, Bunyan dismisses any disagreement with his mode of story-telling with a playground taunt:

> *Some love no Cheese, some love no Fish, & some*
> *Love not their Friends, nor their own House or home*;
> *Some start at Pigg, slight Chicken, love not Fowl,*
> *More then they love a Cuckoo or an Owl*.
> (171,ll.29-33)

Bunyan is quite explicit about the double role of his allegorical mode. It both reveals and conceals the truth. "Wisdom's covered/With its own mantles" (171, 35-6) he says, and advises his Book to "*shew to all / That entertain, and bid thee welcome shall / What thou shalt keep close, shut up from the rest*" (172, ll.2-4). In this revealing/concealing function, the marginal notes, particularly the scripture references, play an important part, for the biblical texts "speak" only to those who already have put them into their memory, and serve as an obfuscation to those who do not at a glance understand the verse to which reference is being made--or who are unwilling to expend the effort to make themselves acquainted with the biblical intertext.

Bunyan is especially sensitive to the spirit of play in his young readers, who may well have had to struggle to wrest the meaning from his stories. He offers to double the profit "*to their paines/Of reading*" (170, l.3): the pleasure and fun of opening "*pretty riddles*" (170, l.2) added to the value of spiritual instruction. To appeal to the reader's "*nimble Fancies*" (173, l.27) is to invite them to play his game with him. Throughout his

"Apology" and "Sending Forth," one hears echoes of the village green not only in the taunting chant noted above, but also in the cries of blindman's buff, ("The blind also, delightful things to see" (TPP 7, 1.1), hide-and-go-seek ("a search after what it fain would find,/Things that seem to be hid" (TPP 2, 171, 1.3), mumming or play-acting ("Present thee to them in thy Pilgrims guise" (TPP 2 171, 1.1), and music and dance ("these strings,/. . . if but touched will such Musick make,/They'l make a Cripple dance" (TPP 2 173, 1.22-23).

While arguing that literary texts differ from games in some primary respects, particularly in that conventions which govern the creation and recuperation of literary texts are not as rigid as are rules in games (98), R. Rawdon Wilson offers that narrative texts may be playful in a number of ways:

> They may be thought of as the result of play--an author's, a reader's or an entire culture's . . . [P]lay may seem deliberate . . . or as welling up . . . from an author's unconscious in paronomasia, word games, and wit . . . . [P]lay can be seen to become game when the presence of a constitutive rule exists. (241-2)

If allegory as a whole can be seen to be a sort of linguistic and literary game, then Bunyan's narratives can be seen as games in themselves which also contain many other elements of game and play: word and sound play, pun, wit, and parody; games of recall and recognition; games of cross-matching from narrative to intertext and back again. For an author who set out abjuring play, Bunyan has produced very playful works. And, for that reason, they are deeply involving, thoroughly delighting works which continue to yield double profit for the reader's pains.

Bunyan's marginal notes add artistic detail to his narratives, prompting responses that range from devotional meditation to the delight of solving puzzles. The notes convey aural, visual and affective appeals worthy of the closest note. At many points, they offer the intellectual challenge of recognition and application. And at others, they afford the reader the opportunity to verify conclusions and generalizations made during the reading of the narrative against the summaries and epigrams in the margin. At every point, they involve the reader in the serious play of allegory as well as in the solving of particular referential or interpretive puzzles. They are not only functional aids to understanding, but also adornments to the story and invitations to the reader to enter into the game of meaning-making with the author himself.

CHAPTER 5:

READING OUT TO THE EDGES: THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

In our study so far, we have considered many specific local effects created by the marginal notes in interaction with the central narrative text. We have yet to demonstrate how a reading of an entire narrative, taking into full account the marginal commentary, is significantly enriched and amplified by the marginal notes.

It is, of course, our contention that a reading which is fully informed by the authorial marginal voice will be distinctively different from other readings. For one thing, more careful attention to the marginal notes produces a more alert reading of the narrative itself, the text-reflexive function of the marginal notes forcing attention again and again to salient points. For another, many aspects of the text which have been viewed as problematic become clear when the marginal notes are taken into account, the text-extensive function taking the reader to explanatory material. Furthermore, many inappropriate assimilations of Bunyan's narrative to points of view totally divergent from his own can be avoided or challenged on the basis of the marginal notes.

In this chapter, the attempt will be made to show

how a close reading of the margins can revitalize our readings of Bunyan's works. The method of demonstration is to give a close and marginally-informed reading of the first paragraph of _The Pilgrim's Progress_. This will, I believe, demonstrate how integral the notes are to an understanding of the text, and how much they enrich, guide and enable the interpretation of the rest of the narrative.

The opening paragraph of _TPP_, often praised for its purity of plain English style, ought also to be praised for the way in which the active use of the marginal space amplifies the narrative, so that in the interaction of the marginal notes and the narrative text, all of the major themes of the book are introduced. Here is the text:

	As I walk'd through the wilderness of
	this world, I lighted on a certain
The *Gaol.	place, where was a *Denn; And I laid
	me down in that place to sleep: And
	as I slept I dreamed a Dream. I
	dreamed, and behold _I saw a Man_
*Isa.64.6.	_*cloathed with Raggs, standing in a_
Lu.14.33	_certain place, with his face from his_
Psal.38.4	_own House, a Book in his hand, and a_
Hab.2.2.	_great burden upon his Back._ I
Acts.16.31.	looked, and saw him open the Book,
	and Read therein; and as he read, he
*His Outcry	wept and trembled: and not being
	able longer to contain, he brake out
	with a lamentable cry; saying, *_what_
	shall I do? (8)

While the swift sequence of simple, active verbs in this opening paragraph (walked, lighted, laid me down, slept, looked, saw, open, read, wept, trembled, brake out), moves us directly into the narrative, the margins act as a brake to slow the reading, to force the reader to stop and consider.[1] With the very first paragraph of the story, Bunyan establishes a tension between forward narrative motion and the drawing aside of the reader or the pilgrim for further instruction, a tension which is an essential element of Bunyan's story-telling throughout the work. Bunyan uses the technique of the oral raconteur in setting an action in motion and then repeatedly delaying realization of the goal through deferrals, digressions, and discourses, thus heightening reader anticipation of the desired end.[2] The marginal notes here slow the plunge into story while the author offers interpretive keys to important elements which will continue to dominate the rest of the narrative. The reader who goes to work "without [Bunyan's] key" (HW 5) is likely to be setting off on a misreading of one kind or another. Or, to shift the imagery, the biblical references operate like the four notes played by the violins at the start of the Finale to Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony. As Mozart builds a "structure from that four-note measure that is truly awe-inspiring" (Baker 9), so Bunyan here sounds distinctive thematic notes which are then played out in a variety of dramatic scenes, imagery patterns, and doctrinal discourses throughout the work.

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[1] Salzman notes this tension between the margins and the "narrative momentum" in his study of the Apollyon scene:

> One can see an increasing tension with the narrative momentum here: the descriptive glosses summarize narrative events; the interpretative glosses pull the reader up and reinforce the didactic point of the allegory; the biblical citations, if the reader follows them up (as Bunyan's contemporaries certainly did), drag against the narrative. The didactic, the expository, the interpretative, balance the narrative surface, the 'action'. The reader soon learns that no event in _The Pilgrim's Progress_ is contingent; a purpose rules all action. (246)

[2] In a separate work-in-progress, I am exploring folkloric and oral elements in Bunyan's narrative structure and story-telling technique.

Of the marginal notes to this passage, all but the first and last are biblical references. The first is an interpretive gloss, identifying the "Denn" of the narrative text as "The *Gaol." The last note to the paragraph is also an indexing rubric, drawing attention to "*His Out-cry." Both of these notes are among the many marginals added to the third edition. Whether the many marginals added after the first edition reflect a temporarily eased political climate or whether they were added in response to misunderstandings or questions on the part of Bunyan's earliest readers, the verbal glosses (as distinct from the biblical references) to the first paragraph represent a whole class of "afterthoughts" added to the second and third editions as the author again re-read and interacted with his text.[3]

In opening the story with the narrator in "the wilderness of this world" before shifting to a "Dream" landscape, Bunyan operates within a long literary tradition, however he may have come to know of it. Both The Divine Comedy and The Fairie Queene have early wilderness scenes.[4] The Divine Comedy opens with the narrator "alone in a dark wood," about which he asks,

> How shall I say
> what wood that was! I never saw so drear,
> so rank, so arduous a wilderness!
> Its very memory gives a shape to fear.
> (Canto I.3-6)

This "arduous wilderness," identified by Dante as "the Dark Wood of Error" into which he has strayed from the True Way, is part of the traditional landscape of the courtly romance tradition, which in turn developed through elaboration of the epic landscape of classical antiquity (Curtius 201). Such wilderness scenes are usually relieved by a locus amoenus, complete with a refreshing spring, within them. Spenser's forested wilderness in The Faerie Queene is also a "wandring wood;" the deceptively attractive locus amoenus is "Errours den" (FQ Canto 1.13).[5]

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[3] Hill makes the observation that by the time TPP went to press in 1678, there was a slightly less hostile political climate than had existed while Bunyan was actually writing the material. "[T]here were things in The Pilgrim's Progress which might displease a captious censor. But by 1678 the government was being pushed on to the defensive by Whig Exclusionists, and publication was becoming easier" (Turbulent Seditious 198). This temporarily improved political climate for dissenters may have allowed Bunyan the liberty to reveal "*Denn" as a code word for Bedford Prison by the time the third edition was printed in 1679.

[4] Despite the labours of Golder to prove Bunyan's literary indebtedness (see "Bunyan and Spenser" and "Bunyan's Hypocrisy") even Tindall can only say "it has been shown . . . that Bunyan may or may not have read The Faerie Queene" (195).

Bunyan's "wilderness of this world" is somewhat different from these wild forests, both in landscape and significance. For one thing, it does not seem necessarily to be treed. Like the later "Wilderness" through which the pilgrims themselves pass just before arriving at Vanity Fair (85, 88), the "wilderness of this world" is not described except by its name. The demonstrative pronoun modifying "world" in the naming of the wilderness invites a comparison with another landscape, another world. The entire story is framed by "the wilderness of **this** world" set against "the glory of **that** world," the world of eternal life into which the pilgrims are transposed at death.

This "wilderness of this world" is perhaps more closely related to desert wildernesses of the Bible than to the treed wildernesses of medieval literature: the wilderness to which the Spirit led Jesus "to be tempted of the devil" after his baptism (Matthew 4:1, Luke 4:1) is a barren landscape but for "wild beasts" (Mark 1:12,13). Even Milton is sparse in his description of this wilderness, "A pathless Desert, dusk with horrid shades" (_PR_ I.295). Bunyan may also have been summoning the image of the desert wilderness which the children of Israel traversed ("the waste and howling wilderness" of Deut. 32:10). This desert landscape stands for testing, reproof, and also for God's providential care: "They wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way . . . . Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses" (Ps.107:4-7). It is thus a suitable image for tribulation and persecution seen in its dual aspect, both as God's chastisement and as the opportunity for his people to experience his provision.[6]

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[5] An interesting parallel is Komensky's The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart which draws on many of the same images as TPP. However, since there was no English version of The Labyrinth until 1900, and since Bunyan did not travel in the circles in which Komensky (alias Comenius) was known, Komensky's English translator, Count Lutzow is probably quite right in saying, "[T]he idea on which both books are founded is far older than either of them" (f.n., 18)

Whether the wilderness of Bunyan's opening paragraph is a forest or a desert, the narrator "walks through" it rather than "wanders in" it, suggesting that he is taking a purposeful trajectory through it. The wilderness is not, as in Dante or Spenser, a place of wandering in a labyrinth of error; nor is it, as in the reinterpretation of the Pentateuchal record in Psalm 106 or St. Paul's appropriation of the wilderness imagery for the Christian experience in I Corinthians 10, a place of doubt and murmuring against God. It is, rather a place of "going on," a weary steadfastness suggested by the plodding motion of the opening line, with its many monosyllabic words trudging one after another.

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[6] See Psalm 107:4-7; I Corinthians 10:1-11; Bunyan comments on God's chastening and provision in persecution in _Seasonable Counsel_ (_MW 10_, _passim_, e.g. 96-97)

As in Faerie Queene, the "Denn" is a reversed image of the locus amoenus, a place suitable for wild beasts rather than for a human, a place of dangerous rest rather than of refreshment.[7] It is the same "Denn" from which Bunyan wrote Grace Abounding: "I being taken from you in presence . . . now from the Lions Dens . . . do look yet after you all (1). The "Lions Den" image invokes the story of Daniel and a complete range of associations concerning God's faithfulness to his exiled people whom he protects despite malicious political opposition and tyrannical kingly decrees (Daniel 6). Evidently, this link was made by early readers; the frontispiece added to the third edition and repeated for many successive editions thereafter, shows the Author lying asleep above a "denn" or cave complete with a crowned lion.

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[7] Keach does not have an entry for "wilderness" in his index of symbols. He does, however, define "Den" as follows: "A [Den] is a Cavity or hollow place of Stones or great Rocks in which Thieves and Robbers hide themselves . . (Tropologia 129). This connection of "Den" as a place for thieves would add another dimension to Bunyan's one-word sketch of the prison. Cragg comments on conditions in British jails during the Puritan persecution:

> [M]any of the prisons were fit only for beasts . . . . In theory the felons were segregated from the other prisoners but . . . . [a]ll too often, every distinction between prisoners disappeared, and those who suffered for conscience' sake were thrust in among those who were punished for crime" (94-95).

After the interpretive gloss, "*Gaol," we find in the margins a list of biblical references. Three of these biblical references identify elements of the initial emblematic description of "the Man" who becomes the central character of the allegory. The "Raggs" in which the Man is "cloathed" are to be identified by means of the reference to Isaiah 64:6; the man's stance, "with his face from his own House," is to be interpreted in the light of Luke 14:33; and the "great burden upon his back," is to be explained by the reference to Psalm 38:4. Since each of these elements of the emblem is of great importance to the rest of the narrative, full and accurate identification is essential to reading the story with any understanding. The fourth scripture reference, Habakkuk 2:2, functions, as we shall see, not only to identify the "Book" the man is holding, but also to offer an apologetic for the entire work. The fifth reference, Acts 16:31, emphasizes the narrative question with which the paragraph ends; the story which follows is an expansion and exemplification of the telegraphic answer indicated by that marginal citation.

All of the biblical references introduced alongside the first paragraph are again referred to marginally or quoted in the very important passage near the end of TPP in which Hopeful retells the story of his conversion to faith in Christ (137-44). In this testimony, all of the major themes of the work are brought together and explicated. Much of the doctrine implicit in the first paragraph of TPP and developed throughout the rest of the story is made explicit. Indexing summaries in the margins (added to Hopeful's story in the second edition) indicate very clearly the stages in the progress of the soul towards salvation, serving to emphasize and make even clearer the Calvinistic conversion paradigm that is employed throughout the entire story.[8] By bracketing Hopeful's testimony with two discourses with Ignorance (123-25, 144-49), Bunyan throws into sharp contrast the difference between true assurance of salvation on God's terms and the illusion of it on one's own. In our discussion of the marginal references to the first paragraph, then, we will also look at their further use in the Hopeful and Ignorance passages to see the further significance of each of the scriptures cited.

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[8] Watkins summarizes this paradigm as follows: "[C]onviction of sin usually led a man to diligent attendance on the means of grace (sermons, prayer, Bible reading, meditation) which he afterwards recognized as a period of 'legal work', since it was an attempt to satisfy God's justice through the performance of duties. . . . A reformation of outward behaviour was one of the earliest signs of an awakened conscience . . . . Release came when the gospel was experienced in the heart as well as with the understanding, and this was the high-water mark of the conversion process (37-39). Watkins' work is unsurpassed in the literature in its understanding of Puritan spiritual sensibilities, based on a wide review of spiritual autobiographies.

The first of the marginal references to the opening paragraph is Isaiah 64:6, glossing the "Raggs" in which the man is "cloathed." Its significance becomes easier to grasp when we set out the narrative with its answering marginal text in the antiphonal form we introduced earlier as being something like the way in which a biblically literate reader might actually have encountered the passage:

> I dreamed, and behold I saw a Man
> *cloathed with Raggs. . . .

> *Isa.64.6:
> But we are all as
> an unclean thing,
> and all our
> righteousnesses
> are as filthy
> rags. . . .

Correct identification of clothing as the "outering" of the inner man is essential to placing the entire narrative in the appropriate conceptual kingdom. By means of the "dream" and its authorized, biblically-informed "interpretation," Bunyan transfers the reader into a spiritual realm, where all physical elements have spiritual significance. The "Raggs" indicate or signify status. Not, as some recent readings have suggested, the man's social and economic status, but rather his standing before God.[9] What the man is clothed with, at the outset of the story, is the inadequate moral covering provided by one's own righteousness or good deeds. The concept underlying this imagery of man's righteousnesss being no better than a collection of "filthy rags" seems to be that God "sees right through" man's best attempts at goodness, and finds such efforts to be "full of holes."

When we compare the emblematic "Man" at the beginning of the book with Hopeful's description of conversion, or with Bunyan's account of his own conversion in GA, we discover that we have plunged, *in medias res*, into the story of a man who has already come through a number of preliminary stages of dawning spiritual illumination. An initial stirring of "some desires to religion" and awareness of sin, followed by attempts at moral reformation, would have been already experienced before the man could be found standing, burdened and in rags, desperate and ready to run (*GA* 16-32). Of Hopeful, the margin notes, "*When he could no longer shake off his guilt by sinful courses, then he endeavours to mend*" (139). It is only after Hopeful has taken up "Religious Duties, as Praying, Reading, weeping for Sin, speaking Truth to my Neighbours, etc." that he begins to experience real conviction of sin, "and that over the neck of all my Reformations" (139). Attempts at reformation serve only to convince him that he cannot achieve righteousness through his own efforts.

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[9] See, for example, Hill: "When we first see him the Pilgrim is in rags--allegorical rags, to be sure, but they also represent his real poverty" (*Turbulent Seditious*, 213. More deliberately literal and materialist is McKeon's "willful 'misreading' of the text" (302) in which he sees TPP as reflecting the gradual rise of the English lower class:

> Christian's progress recapitulates the rise of the new gnetility of early modern England: from common laborer or *noblesse d'epee* to *noblesse de robe*, from medieval military knighthood to Restoration administrative bureaucrat, from knight-at-arms to Whitehall courtier.
>
> (311).

It is at this point in Hopeful's narrative that Bunyan re-introduces the Isaiah 64:6 text, this time quoting it twice within Hopeful's narrative:

> *Reformation at last could not help, and why.*
>
> Isa. 64.6
>
> *Hope.* There were several things brought it [my trouble, i.e., conviction] upon me, especially such sayings as these; *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags* . with many more the like: From whence I began to reason with my self thus, If *all* my righteousnesses are filthy rags, if by the deeds of the Law. *no* man can be justified . . . Then 'tis but a folly to think of heaven by the Law . . . . [I]f I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing it self with the best of that I do. (139, 140)

The image of "*a Man *cloathed with Raggs*" is thus that of a man who has had sufficient spiritual illumination to accept as truth the declaration of Isaiah 64:6: that the best attempts at human moral goodness are ragged and inadequate. This man has come to see himself as he is figured in the Book, rather than as he appears to his family and neighbours. And the reader who is able to "see" this man as the Dreamer does, through the lens of the biblical "spectacles" in the margin, is being granted a spiritually illumined view of the real moral condition of a man who has not yet found covering in "the righteousness of a man that never had sinned" (140). By checking one's own interpretation against that offered by the marginal reference, the reader can immediately determine whether or not he or she has entered into the dream of the narrator.

This view of man's beggarly spiritual and moral condition is diametrically opposite to the view of Ignorance. When Christian puts to Ignorance the proposition that our thoughts of ourselves are good or true thoughts to the extent that they agree with the Scripture, "When we pass the same Judgement upon our selves which the Word passes," he clarifies the nature of such a judgement by quoting from Romans 3: "The Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition, There is none Righteous, there is none that doth good" (146). Ignorance's reply demonstrates his English Pelagianism: "I will never believe that my heart is thus bad" (146).

The emblematic vision of the Man in Rags sets out for the reader a doctrinal and moral concept which the reader must grasp if the kind of progress the pilgrim makes is ever to be understood. This is a rags-to-riches story, but both the rags and the riches belong to a scheme of meaning with its point of reference not in "this World" but in "That which is to come."[10]

"Raggs" also, as a one-word description of clothing, introduces an imagery pattern which will run from the opening sentences to the closing paragraphs of the book, a pattern in which clothes operate as signifiers of one's inner spiritual state. At every crucial spiritual development in the book, clothing is mentioned and its significance stressed both within the narrative and at its edges by means of the marginal notes. It is part of the still-ragged Christian's initial hope, based on "the words of [his] book" that, in the Kingdom to which he is travelling there will be given "*Garments that will make us shine like the Sun in the Firmament of Heaven" (13). The marginal reference emphasizes the equivalency between garments and righteousness by referring the reader to Revelation 3.4: "[Those] which have not defiled their garments . . . shall walk with me in white."

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[10] It is at the point of misunderstanding the kind of progress which the pilgrim is supposed to make that Stanley Fish's reading of TPP breaks down (Self-Consuming Artifacts, 224-64). The pilgrim makes no progress if "a growing sense of accomplishment and self-satisfaction" is seen to be a goal of the narrative (229). But there is no reason to suggest that this is the progress which is in view. The full title of TPP tells us that the progress is temporal and spatial in the sense of being "from this World to That which is to Come." The narrative also works out the internal progress of the soul toward holiness, the process of sanctification.

An intelligent reading which takes into account the interpretive guidance of the marginal glosses as well as a reader's reasonable expectations of TPP will be quite different from Fish's fictionalized account of a first reading, as Drummond demonstrates ("Sequence and Consequence"). Knott disputes Fish's unstated assumption that Bunyan's primary purpose is to reveal his reader's limitations, arguing that significant shared celebrations of progress and insight are clearly evident (e.g., "Bunyan's climactic celebration of the joys of Beulah and of the New Jerusalem"). He also takes issue with Fish's assumption that "Christians must learn to distrust the evidence of their senses," pointing out that "sensuous enjoyment . . . is a sign of spiritual progress." (See ch. 6, "John Bunyan and the Experience of the Word" [131-63] and endnote 37 [185-86]). For a more general critique of Fish's readings of seventeenth-century texts, see Summers ("Stanley Fish's Reading").

At the Cross, after Christian's burden falls from his back, he is met by three shining ones who grant him, in true fairy- and folk-tale fashion, three boons, one of which is a "change of Raiment" signifying an alteration in status and spiritual state:[11]

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[11] Although two of the "shining ones" appear at several points in the narrative, it is not until after the pilgrims have crossed the River Death that they disclose their identity, "We are ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister for those that shall be Heirs of Salvation,"(158) adopting the definition of angels offered in Hebrews 1:14. This retroactively identifies the "shining ones" at all other points in the story. The first of the shining ones, however, can be identified as Jesus. The words, "Thy sins be forgiven," are cited from Mark 2:5, a passage in which speaking the word of forgiveness is a definitive sign of Christ's identity and deity. (For a reading which sees the three shining ones as representing Memory, Understanding, and Will, see Forrest, "Patristic Tradition and Psychological Image.")

> *Mark 2.5 [T]he first said to him, *Thy sins be forgiven. The second stript him of
> his Rags, and *cloathed him with
> *Zech.3.4 change of Raiment. The third also
> set *a mark in his fore-head, and
> *Eph.1.13 gave him a Roll with a Seal upon it . . . that he should give it in at the
> Celestial Gate. (38).

In this passage, there is a highly important further development of the clothing = righteousness imagery pattern. A "change of raiment" indicates the granting of righteouness not on the basis of the individual's good deeds but by an act of God's grace, symbolized by the giving of a change of raiment.

Angus Fletcher draws attention to the importance within allegory of the distinctive ornamentation by which an allegorical figure or character can be known. He uses the Greek word for ornament, kosmos, in his discussion of clothing or ornament as metonymic of the entire order of the universe in which the allegory operates and to which it refers. In Fletcher's discussion, he points out that kosmos signifies both a macrocosm (a universe which implies large-scale order) and a microcosm (a small-scale sign of that order which indicates rank in a hierarchy). As a noun, kosmos "could be used of decoration, embellishment, costume, especially if significant of status . . . related to hierarchic rank . . . or . . . indicating membership in a secret society." As an adjective or adverb, it implies the propriety and decorum suitable to one's place in the larger scheme or order. Thus kosmos points from the significant detail of dress to the entire order for which it stands.

In TPP this distinguishing ornamentation or kosmos is the robe received at the Cross. The importance of this "costume" is that it represents both the entire universe of meaning to which the allegory relates and the character's particular place or rank within that realm.

The Christian's robe, received at the Cross, represents the imputed righteousness of Christ granted as a "covering" to the believer. The all-important Reformation doctrine of imputed righteousness is so central to TPP that an understanding of it is necessary to any accurate reading of the work. Sharrock's summary of the doctrine, while a model of succinctness, fails utterly to capture the "heart" of this fundamental teaching:

> Christ's sacrifice on the Cross . . . is looked upon in a technical and quasi-legal fashion as a transaction in which Christ redeems the elect from sin by imputing his own righteousness to them, without any account of their individual merits. (John Bunyan 77)

This account lacks the affective aspect which is central for Bunyan. It is not an understanding of a doctrinal technicality which transforms Christian at the Cross, nor is it an appreciation of a "quasi-legal transaction" which "sent the *waters down his cheeks" (38).

J.I. Packer more adequately summarizes the

Reformers' position:

> [T]he "sole formal cause" of justification is not _God's_ righteousness _imparted_, but _Christ's_ righteousness _imputed_; and to make their meaning more clear they drew a distinction between Christ's _active_ obedience to God's law, in keeping its precepts, and his _passive_ obedience to it, in undergoing its penalty, and insisted that our acceptance as righteous depends on the imputing to us of Christ's obedience in both its aspects. . . [I]t is on the ground of his obedience, as our representative and substitutionary sin-bearer, and that alone, that righteousness is reckoned to us and sin cancelled (153).

This statement would serve admirably as a guide to Bunyan's doctrinal thought as it is explicated both in action and discourse throughout _TPP_. Bunyan has thoroughly assimilated what both Luther and Calvin had taught: that the "righteousness of faith" is a righteousness attributed to the believer, not on the basis of one's own works, but as a free gift by which Jesus Christ's perfect personal righteousness is attributed or "imputed" to the believing individual. Calvin explains this in a passage in which the symbolism of clothing is very evident:

> If you look to yourself damnation is certain: but since Christ has been communicated to you with all his benefits, so that all which is his is made yours . . . . [h]is righteousness covers your sins--his salvation extinguishes your condemnation; he interposes with his worthiness, and so prevents your unworthiness from coming into the view of God. (_Institutes_ III.2.24)

This teaching is very clearly reformulated within the Westminster Confession (Article XI.i) and permeates Puritan doctrine as encountered in sermon and print. Bunyan may have developed his concept of this doctrine from childhood catechism as well as from sermon and "godly discourse." We know that he encountered it directly in Luther's discussion of Galatians:

> [T]his most excellent righteousness, the righteousness of faith, which God imputes to us through Christ without works, is neither political nor ceremonial nor legal nor work-righteousness but is quite the opposite; it is a merely passive righteousness, while all the others, listed above, are active. For here we work nothing, render nothing to God; we only receive and permit someone else to work in us, namely, God. . . . .[T]his is the righteousness of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, which we do not perform but receive, which we do not have but accept, when God the Father grants it to us through Jesus Christ. . . . [T]hat divine, heavenly, and eternal righteousness. . . we can obtain . . . only through the free imputation and indescribable gift of God. (Lectures on Galatians, Works, Vol.26, 4-6).

It is in perfect keeping with Luther's terminology that the pilgrim is passive in both the removing of the old and the conferring of the new kosmos or identifying sign.

The text-extensive marginal reference which accompanies the granting to Christian of "a change of raiment" is to Zechariah 3:4. By recalling or looking up this text, the reader finds a highly pictorial prophetic vision set as a parallel to the experience of justification which Christian experiences. In the Old Testament passage, a high priest-elect stands before God, apparently for confirmation of election:

> [1] And he shewed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. [2] And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan . . [3] Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the angel. [4] And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee and I will clothe thee with change of raiment. (Zech. 3: 1-4)

The important inference to be drawn from the marginal reference is that when God grants imputed righteousness, Satan's accusations are silenced and the "elect" becomes fit to be a member of the "priesthood of believers."[12] The robe given to Christian at the Cross becomes the sign both of his status and of his destiny.

Not only does the robe externalize the new inner or spiritual condition of the pilgrim and indicate his new status; it also represents the visible part of his Christianity. (Recall that Fletcher sees the kosmos as representing decorum as well as hierarchic position.) Bunyan speaks elsewhere, using similar imagery, of holiness of life as the "badge" or "livery" of the Christian.[13] As such a distinguishing livery, the garment of the pilgrim plays an important role in several key scenes in TPP.

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[12] The "priesthood of all believers" was a Reformation theme set over against the concept of priesthood through vocation and the sacrament of ordination (through which authority was granted to specific persons to occupy the role of priests within an uninterrupted apostolic succession.) In Luther's view, the concept of "vocation" was widened to include any man's work or trade (on this see Nelson, 108). To the non-conformist like Bunyan, the ordination that mattered was Christ's ("Ye have not chosen me but I have chosen you and ordained you, that you should go and bring forth fruit" [Jn. 15:16]); all believers could claim their part as "a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people" (I Pet. 2:9) since Jesus Christ "ha[d] made [them] kings and priest unto God and his Father" (Rev.1:6). These themes are very clear in Bunyan's account of his trial ("A Relation of my Imprisonment," GA 118 ff.). By identifying the pilgrim's new clothes with the bestowal of priestly robes in the Zechariah passage, Bunyan identifies his pilgrim as a priest in this important Protestant, and specifically non-conformist, sense.

Almost immediately after the scene at the Cross, Christian encounters two other approaches to righteousness personified as Formalist and Hypocrisie who "come tumbling over the Wall on the left hand of the narrow way" (39). When Christian denies that they are truly in the way, the two characters reply sulkily that the only difference they can see between themselves and Christian is "the Coat that is on thy back, which was, as we tro, given thee by some of thy Neighbours, to hide the shame of thy nakedness" (41). Their comment is highly ironic, since Christian's garment has been given him by some of his "Neighbours" in the new spiritual community of which he is now a part, which includes "an innumerable company of Angels" (cf. GA para.262).

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[13] "[W]e should hide our faith in Christ from no man, but should rather make a discovery of it, by a life that will do so. For our profession thus managed is the badge, and the Lords livery, by which we are distinguished from other men" (Seasonable Counsel, MW 10 51)

Because from their "natural" or unregenerate point of view, Formalist and Hypocrisie can see the "coat" of imputed righteousness only in its external manifestation of godly character and upright moral behaviour, they find the distinction made by Christian as to the nature of true righteousness and its imputation both trivial and irritating. Christian's reply indicates the extreme importance of his garment:

> *Gal.2.16
> *Christian has got his Lords Coat on his back, and is comforted therewith.
>
> Chr. By *Laws and Ordinances, you will not be saved, since you came not in by the door. And as for this Coat that is on my back, it was given me by the Lord of the place whither I go; and that, as you say, to cover my nakedness with. And I take it as a token of his kindness to me, for I had nothing but rags before; and besides, *thus I comfort my self as I go: Surely, think I, when I come to the Gate of the City, the Lord thereof will know me for good, since I have his Coat on my back; a Coat he gave me freely in the day that he stript me of my rags. . . . (41)

The marginal summary note emphasizes the identification in this passage of the garment as a "Coat," creating an allusive connection to Joseph's "coat of many colours" in the Old Testament (Genesis 37).[14]

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[14] Christian later describes the garment as "this Broidred Coat" (49). It is this description which informs the woodcut illustration (in the fifth and later editions) to the scene at the cross, in which the long cloak which flows down from the kneeling pilgrim's shoulders appears to be patterned like a damask.

For Christian, as for Joseph, the coat is a sign of a father's favour: "I take it as a token of his kindness to me," says Christian, creating an echo of the Joseph story: "Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children . . . and he made him a coat of many colours" (Gen. 37:3). For Christian, as for Joseph, this symbolic garment which speaks a father's special love makes him an object of envious hostility. The hatred that Joseph's brothers bear to him is reflected in Bunyan's narrative by the growing surliness of Formalist and Hypocrisie: "[T]hey made him but little answer; only they bid him look to himself" (40) and the implicit hostility of their scorning laughter: "To these things they gave him no answer, only they looked upon each other, and laughed" (41).[15]

While the "Coat" causes envy and resentment among the religious as personified by Formalist and Hypocrisie, it creates another kind of hostility in the irreligious or secular society. This we discover when the bestowed garment plays an important part again in the scenes at Vanity Fair (88 ff.). The first reason for the stir caused by the pilgrims is their distinctive garb:

The first cause The Pilgrims were cloathed with such

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[15] The hostility and scorn heaped upon Bunyan by Edward Fowler (or his deputy) in Dirt Wip't Off (1672) seems to be echoed here, read as an expression of envy at Bunyan's sure sense of election and justification.

> *of the hubbub about them.*
>
> kind of Raiment, as was diverse from the Raiment of any that traded in that *fair*. The people therefore of the *fair* made a great gazing upon them: Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men. (90)

In this reference to the special clothing of the pilgrims another oblique reference to the earlier allusion to Joseph's many-coloured coat may be detected. Though the spiritually discerning reader knows the many-coloured coat to be the "token" or sign of God's grace, to the inhabitants of Vanity Fair the coat is merely seen as the motley of "Fools," the bizarre dress of "Bedlams," or, at the very least, the barbarian mode of another realm.[16] The inhabitants of Vanity Fair demonstrate by their reaction to the pilgrims and their clothing that they are "natural men," unable to receive "the things of Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto [them]" (I Cor. 2:14).

So distinctive, and so offensive to the men of

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[16] The early woodcut illustrations do not pick up on this misidentification of the pilgrims as "Fools" because of their clothing; the pilgrims are shown in the typical plain garb of contemporary Puritanism. In a very interesting "reading" of the Vanity Fair passage provided by William Blake's uncompleted watercolour illustration, the two pilgrims are sketched standing, apparently shackled, on a pedestal; in the foreground below them, in the multi-coloured garb of fools are two mountebanks performing antics (1941, Plate XXII, 159). The pilgrims as fools for Christ's sake are made a gazing-stock (cf. m.n., "*They that fly from the wrath to come, are a Gazing-Stock to the world*" 10); the real fools play out their little acts in front of them.

Vanity Fair is the clothing of the pilgrims, that it is the focus of the first examination of the pilgrims. Christian and Faithful are asked to explain "whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there in such an unusual Garb" (90). The end result of the first examination is that the pilgrims are beaten and besmeared, an attack made on their "apparel" as it is visible to society in godly moral character.[17]

The pilgrim's distinctive kosmos or ornamentation is envied and resented by Formalist and Hypocrisy, mocked and ridiculed and besmeared by the citizens of Vanity Fair. But in their attacks, they at least acknowledge that the garment exists and has significance. Ignorance, on the other hand, refuses even to acknowledge the need of such a garment. His "False Faith" relies not on Christ's perfect righteousness but on his own (147). He fails to understand that it is Christ's "personal obedience" accepted by grateful faith which is the distinctive covering garment by which the pilgrim who has come by way of the Cross can be known, "under the skirt of which, the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation" (148).

This doctrine of imputed righteousness always brings the Christian--whether Bunyan or his pilgrim--up against the charge of antinomianism.[18] Ignorance exclaims:

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[17] Bunyan's concern for unjustified attacks on a Christian's reputation surfaces elsewhere, for example GA, para. 307-11.

> What! would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done without us? This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust, and tollerate us to live as we list: For what matter how we live if we may be Justified by Christs personal righteousness from all. (148)

And Bunyan allows to Christian an explosion of impatience in reply:

> Ignorance _is thy name, and as thy name is, art thou._ Ignorant _thou art of what Justifying righteousness is_. . . . _Yea, thou also art_ Ignorant _of the true effects of saving faith in this righteousness of Christ, which is, to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ, to love his Name, his Word, Ways and People_. (148)

The ability to choose to sin in the face of God's love and grace would mark a person as among the non-elect. For anyone who has, with Christian, really _seen_ Christ dying for him on the Cross, antinomianism is not a problem. Willful sin is merely unthinkable. The meaning of Ignorance's allegorical name is here carefully explicated. He is willfully ignorant on a number of important doctrinal issues: he is ignorant of his own sinful condition; ignorant about the nature of imputed righteousness; and he is ignorant of the way in which a free and gracious justification wins the heart of a person to a loving desire to obey and please God in every aspect of life.

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[18] This charge was first levelled by Fowler (_Dirt Wipt Off_, 17). Shaw claims that "The whole allegory is a consistent attack on morality and respectability, without a word that one can remember against vice and crime" and classes Bunyan with Nietzsche and Ibsen ("Epistle Dedicatory," _Man and Superman_, xxxii). The charge has been recently repeated by Hill who gives a whole sub-section under "Bunyan's Theology" to "Antinomianism," concluding that "Bunyan had difficulty in avoiding antinomianism; and the dilemma remained with him" (_Turbulent Seditious_ 188-93). Bunyan's testiness in response bears witness not, as Hill assumes, to anxiety about antinomianism, but to an anger he shares with St. Paul that, considering the grace of God and its cost in Christ's sacrifice, anyone could ever, for even a moment, think of abusing such love and grace by willingly choosing to sin: "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid." (Rom. 6:1,2).

In the end, as the story has foreshadowed all along, the robe of imputed righteousness is the basis of entrance into or exclusion from the Celestial City. It is to "the Marriage Supper of the Lamb," the eternal celebration of the union of the Church with God, that the pilgrims have been called. As Christian and Hopeful and their heavenly entourage draw near the Gate of the city:

> . . . a company of the Heavenly Host came out to meet them: To whom it was said, by the other two shining Ones, These are the men that have loved our Lord . . . and that have left all for his holy Name, and he hath sent us to fetch them . . . . Then the Heavenly Host gave a great shout, saying, Blessed are they that are called to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb.(160)

Rev.19.

The garment of Christ's imputed righteousness which has distinguished the pilgrims through life is now seen to be a wedding garment. When Ignorance is asked for the Certificate which would have been given him had he gone to the Cross for pardon, "he fumble[s] in his bosom for one" (163). In describing this single fumbling action, Bunyan's masterful touch is evident: the reader who looks where Bunyan points "sees" that Ignorance is lacking not only the certificate of election but also the robe of imputed righteousness. And when the King ". . . command[s] the two shining Ones . . . to . . . take *Ignorance* and bind him hand and foot, and have him away" (163), Bunyan leads his biblically literate reader through the precise words of the king's command to a clear understanding of the basis of Ignorance's exclusion.

The phrase, "bind him hand and foot," is a verbal echo from the parable told by Jesus in which "[t]he kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son" (Matthew 22:1-14). By using an precise phrase from this parable in the condemnation of Ignorance, Bunyan conflates the picture of the "Marriage Supper of the Lamb" of Revelation 19 with the parable of the "marriage of the king's son."

In that parable, one of the longest and most complex recorded in the gospels, the first-invited guests "ma[k]e light" of the king's gracious invitation to the wedding feast honouring his son (v. 5). The invitation is then widened to include even less worthy subjects, the king commanding his servants to "Go . . . therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage" (v. 9). The pattern within the parable of rudeness, indifference, and arrogant presumption on the part of invited guests reaches its climax when a guest arrives improperly attired:

> [11] And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment; [12] And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless. [13] Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness.
>
> (Matthew 22:12-14)

Failing to wear the appropriate wedding garment may seem a trivial reason for damnation to the modern reader. However, within the context of the parable itself, the man was apparently without excuse ("he was speechless"). According to an oral sermonic tradition, the wedding garment would have been provided for all guests at the host's expense. This is a reading in full harmony with Bunyan's use of clothing imagery throughout TPP and of this parable at the critical moment of Ignorance's exclusion from the Celestial City. Samuel Bolton, in The Wedding Garment and the Wedding Supper (1647) writes: "No man will go naked to a Feast. Your apparel here [i.e., at Communion] is the Wedding Garment; Christ for justification, Christ for sanctification; and he that came without this, you see what became of him" (90).[19]

The applicability of this parable to Ignorance's arrogant and presumptuous attitude is evident. He does not merely fail to have the garment of imputed righteousness, which is the kosmos of the pilgrim; he has willfully and deliberately rejected that garment and chosen to present himself on the basis of his own righteousness. His sin is the greatest one possible, the sin against God's grace and love. When he fumbles in his bosom, he is fumbling what we suddenly see to be "filthy rags."

Bunyan makes his point: willful, arrogant ignorance of one's own sinfulness and of Christ's righteousness cannot be brought into the Celestial City. Ignorance is not an individual, of course, but an attitude. "The fault of Ignorance . . . is pride, . . . a belief in one's own righteousness leading to a rejection of the means of grace offered in Christ. . . ." (Forrest, "Bunyan's Ignorance," 19). Not a deficiency of grace on God's part but a lack of response to that grace is what, finally, condemns a man.

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[19] The Anchor Bible commentary on the passage says re: wedding garb:

> The scene depicted is that of the Son judging his own Kingdom. The man in question had attempted to enter that Kingdom without prior repentance. It is fruitless to discuss wehther there was a custom demanding that the giver of a wedding feast had an obligation to provide special clothing. No such custom is known to us, and . . . it is probable that only clean clothes were expected (269).

The Broadman commentary mentions "[t]he conjecture that the host provided his guests with wedding garments" and suggests that while it may be correct, "it derives solely from this passage." According to the reading of this commentary, the guest without a wedding garment was exhibiting:

> defiance of authority . . . . greater even than that of the men first invited. They defied the king's authority by refusing to attend the feast. This man defied that authority in a more arrogant way, by trying to attend on his own terms (205).

When we recognize the understated but highly significant "garment" theme in this passage, we come close to understanding what Bunyan's authorial audience would have more quickly grasped, that Ignorance **must** be cast out from the Celestial City.[20]

For the pilgrims who have received the covering of Christ's righteousness, imputed to them by God's grace in response to their faith, the "rags to riches" theme has its grand finale played off against the minor chords of Ignorance's damnation. It is the final vision of the dream, the moment toward which the entire narrative has been yearning, when the King having examined "each man his Certificate which they had received in the beginning," the Gate is opened:

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[20] A few other thoughts about the condemnation of Ignorance occur. One is that he is set up to be damned in the course of the story; like the Vice in the Morality play, he must be carried off, struggling and screaming at the end, in order that justice, truth and good may prevail. Another is that Ignorance may fulfill a folkloric formula of the "trickster tricked" (on which see Luthi, "Goal-Orientation"). While Bunyan's God scarcely is the sort who "tricks" anyone, there is at the end of TPP the possible fulfillment of an expectation that "the deceiver himself [be] deceived, and, if possible, by his own method" (Luthi 358). Ignorance is "deceived" by the ease of his crossing the River of Death. And, as a "know-it-all," he is justly excluded from felicity by the lack of exactly those evidences of election which he has himself denied as valid.

> Now I saw in my Dream, that these two men went in at the Gate, and loe, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had Raiment put on that shone like Gold" (162).

Better than in a fairy-tale, the theme of transformation by which "Christ makes princes of beggars" (53) begins at the Cross and and is completed in the final transfiguration at the reception into the Celestial City of "the Man" once "cloathed with Raggs." Both the rags and the robe which replaces them are fundamental to the narrative. It is not by accident that Bunyan gives "Isa.64.6" as his first interpretive key; in doing so, he introduces his central doctrinal theme and the garment motif which exteriorizes and explains it.

The second interpretive key to TPP is also important, providing an important guide to TPP which, if properly heeded, deals with critical sentiment decrying

Christian's heartlessness in leaving his family behind.[21]

The marginal reference to Luke 14:33 annotates the stance of the emblematic, still unmoving Man:

> *I saw a Man*. . . *standing in a certain place, with his face from his own House*. . . .

> Lu.14.33:
> *So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.*

Once again, not just a text, but an underlying construction of reality is introduced, without a comprehension of which *TPP* can only be misread. As with the damnation of Ignorance, we here come up against a place at which the biblical language must guide us in the creation of allegorical equivalences. If the biblical and theological framework is not reconstructed, and the narrative is read "naturalistically" rather than allegorically, the whole artistic edifice crumbles under our misconstruing.

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[21] Mark Twain has Huck Finn demonstrate a naive reading by a reader who does not comprehend the margins. He describes *TPP* as being "about a man that left his family, it didn't say why. I read considerable in it now and then. The statements was interesting but tough" (83). One would expect more perceptive readings from critics. But Bridges writes: "Bunyan's artistic awkwardness is prodigious . . . . The facts of the story are that a man learning that the town in which he lived was damned to destruction thereupon ran away and left his wife and children to their fate" (Sharrock, *Casebook*, 108). Hill says, "It is a dramatic opening. Allegorically it is very telling, based on the Biblical adjuration to leave one's family for Christ's sake. But taken literally it is horrifying" (*Turbulent Seditious* 227). Of course. It is also horrifying that sophisticated readers should read allegory literally.

The marginal reference summons for the reader a text in St. Luke's gospel which occurs in a passage to which reference is made at several other critical junctures in the story. In this passage, Jesus says:

> [26] If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. [27] And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. . [33] So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. (Luke 14: 26-27, 33)

The importance of this passage in Bunyan's vision of the Christian life can be seen by his repeated references to it throughout the rest of the narrative. When the Man begins to run, and his Wife and Children cry after him to return, "the Man put his fingers in his Ears, and [runs] on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life" (10), the action of Christian is again to be interpreted in the light of a marginal reference to Luke 14:26. The citation occurs again in the margin, this time together with parallel passages from the other Gospels, opposite a verbatim quotation within the monlogue in which Evangelist reprimands Christian for giving ear to Mr. Worldly-Wiseman. Part of Worldy-Wiseman's appeal to the pilgrim has been his statement that, "[T]hou mayest send for thy wife and Children to thee to this Village [Morality], where there are houses. . . which thou mayest have at reasonable rates" [19]. Thus, when Evangelist meets Christian cowering under the condemnation of the Law at Mount Sinai, he details the ways in which Worldly-Wiseman has distracted and corrupted Christian's commitment to a life of pilgrimage. "From this little wicket-gate, and from the way thereto hath this wicked man turned thee . . . ; hate therefore his turning thee out of the way, and abhor thy self for harkening to him" (23), Evangelist says, admonishing Christian:

> . . .[T]he King of Glory hath told thee, *that he that will save his life shall lose it: and *he that comes after him, and hates not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters; yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my Disciple. (23)

*Mark 8.34
John 13.25
Mat. 10.39
*Luke 14.26

By the full quotation here of a biblical text previously only alluded to, Bunyan entrusts to Evangelist the task of dispelling any lack of clarity on both the pilgrim's and the reader's part about God's call having first claim.

In Christian's discourse with Charity, there is further and fuller discussion about a person's responsibility for and to his family (51-52). This discourse, added to the second edition, is summarized by a series of marginal notes which not only index but emphasize the importance of the interchange: "Christian's *love to his Wife and Children*"; "**The cause why his Wife and Children did not go with him*"; "Christian's *good coversation before his Wife and Children*"; and, finally, "Christian *clear of their blood if they perish*."

Bunyan's pilgrim is anything but callous or indifferent to the claims of natural human love. It is the most difficult aspect of his leaving the City of Destruction; despite his desperation for salvation, he can only escape the clamour of his love for them by "put[ting] his fingers in his Ears" (10). His love for his family renders him susceptible to Mr. Worldly-Wiseman's offer of being able to have both respectable religion and familial endorsement. But by placing Christian's decision to go on pilgrimage in the context of the radical and absolute claims of Jesus on all who would follow him, and by forcing Christian to answer to Charity, the highest of the Christian virtues for his decision, Bunyan endeavours to clear his pilgrim of the very charges which critics have laid. At the same time, by depicting effectively how wrenching such a repudiation is, Bunyan sets Christ's claims into a context of the human experience of conflicting loyalties.[22]

In choosing to resist as first claim on one's life the calls of human love, and to make obedience to God the highest good, Christian enacts a reversal of Adam's choice in the Garden of Eden. In Milton's account of the Fall, Adam's temptation to disobey God's command is made more acute by what Augustine had termed socialis necessitudo (Lewis, Preface 67), the social bond between man and woman. Thus, Milton could say that Adam was "fondly overcome with Femal charm" (PL 9.998).[23] Bunyan will later devote TPP 2 to a demonstration that in Christian's costly choice salvation for his family is implicit.[24]

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[22] In the listing of goods for sale at Vanity Fair, "Wives, Husbands, Children" are catalogued along with "Whores, Bauds . . . Masters, Servants, . . . Silver, Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones and what not." While this does not seem to be where critics have focused their attention, it strikes me as the most vulnerable point of Bunyan's evaluation of relative loyalties and priorities. It is important, however, to see that the title of the catalogue is "Delights of all sorts" (88). Under this rubric, "wives, husbands, children" are seen as one of the great pleasures life can afford. Furthermore, because it is a legitimate source of pleasure, family can operate as a competitor for the love and worship due to God alone.

[23] Lewis states, "Adam fell by uxoriousness . . ." and identifies his moment of abandoning obedience ("with thee Certain my resolution is to Die" [PL 9.907]) as "that moment when we resolve to treat some lower or partial value as an absolute--loyalty to a party or a family, faith to a lover, the customs of good fellowship . . . . " (Preface 122-23). This respect for the social bond above the spiritual one which caused "all our woe" is, perversely enough, applauded by Waldock who states, "Adam falls through love . . . as human beings know it at its best . . . This noble . . . act constitutes the Fall of Man" (52); in agreeing with God's judgment of Adam's disobedience, Waldock argues, "[W]e are asked to set aside . . . one of the highest . . . of all human values: selflessness in love" (54). He goes on to liken the conflict of emotions in the reader of PL, Book 9, to

By means of the marginal reference to the Gospel adjacent to the first paragraph, as well as by means of these later additions to the narrative, Bunyan tries to ensure that his hero is seen not as a selfish man concerned only with his own salvation, but rather as

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those experienced by the reader of the opening of TPP:

> . . . Bunyan, theoretically, would not have us abandon our customary human values . . . yet he comes very near in this passage to affronting some of the chief of them. Christian running across the plain . . . desperately bent on his own salvation, is not the kind of person for whom in normal circumstances we should have a strong regard. Though we understand perfectly what Bunyan is driving at we cannot very much enjoy the scene: we are forced, as we read it, to suspend a great many of our customary emotional responses. A child does not so easily do this and is likely to be taken aback, feeling . . . that the situation tugs against itself. (54)

Fish is much more perceptive in noting that we experience emotional conflict as we read such passages precisely because we read as fallen beings and, in our felt concurrence with Adam's choice, discover our own distorted view of ultimate priorities (Surprised by Sin, 6-8; 41-43). Similarly, we are meant to feel the painfully strong pull of family ties as Christian sets out, to recognize the cost of the commitment he makes, not least of which is to be widely misunderstood.

[24] This important link between Parts 1 and 2 of TPP is explicated by Keeble, "Christiana's Key." It is not clear, of course, whether or not Bunyan conceived of TPP 2 at the same time as TPP, it constituting the sequel to which he refers in the "The Conclusion" (164). It seems quite possible that, as with the discourse with Charity added to the second edition, TPP 2 may have been written to address a concern which Bunyan had about a perceived reception problem--one which still haunts the work.

someone who understands the radical claims of Christ's call into discipleship. The problem for the modern reader, beyond simply the effort it takes to keep reading allegory qua allegory, is not that we think more highly of the importance of family than did Bunyan and his nonconformist readers.[25] It is, rather, that we value much less the importance of salvation. We have, therefore, great difficulty in conceiving of a spiritual impulse stronger than human love.

The third of the "keys" beside the opening paragraph explains yet another detail of the emblematic image, focusing our attention on the "great burden upon [the Man's] Back."

> I saw a Man. . . a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his Back.

Psal.38:4:
For mine iniquities are gone over mine head: as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me.

The burden which the man carries is the realization of the extent and seriousness of personal sin. This emblematic symbol with its interpretive scripture reference introduces the theme of conviction into the narrative, another important doctrinal theme which is reworked in the Hopeful narrative in a long and detailed answer to the question, "And did you presently fall under the power of this conviction?" (138 ff.), and again in the early pages of TPP 2 as Christiana experiences "*Convictions seconded with fresh Tidings of Gods readiness to Pardon" (m.n. 179).[26]

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[25] Leavis comments on "the tender potency of [Bunyan's] sympathetic evocation of day-to-day life," noting that "[t]his is especially so in Part Two" where "the distinctive note is that of a family party, and the rendering yields abundant matter that might have been invoked in illustration by the historian John Richard Green for the enforcement of his . . . contention: the home, as we think of it now, was the creation of the puritan" (Afterword, Signet Classics edition of TPP (1964), quoted in Sharrock, Casebook, 219).

Bunyan would not be surprised to find that such painful conviction as he confesses in GA to having experienced, and as he dramatizes in TPP, might well be seen by some to be pathological. The pilgrim's own family and friends make such a diagnosis, deciding "that some frenzy distemper had got into his head," and offering a number of contemporary cures, which, as an interpretive marginal note added to the third edition says, are ineffective since they are "*Carnal Physick for a Sick Soul" (9). Throughout the story, too, we meet people who have no problem with the burden of sin. Pliable has little struggle at the "Slow of Dispond"; it is Christian, who "could not get out, because of the burden that was upon his back" (15). Mr. Wordly-Wiseman suggests that there are ways of dealing with the troublesome burden less radical than going to the Cross. Ignorance certainly does not feel the weight of this burden. For the Puritan, the sense of sinfulness was a part of the "effectual call" which brought about a spiritual awakening. Thus, the burden, however heavy, was a gift, a "godly sorrow [which] work[ed] repentance to salvation" (II Cor.7:10).

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[26] In HW, the work of conviction is developed in the four emblematic captains (Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution) sent by Emmanuel to bring Mansoul to repentance (36-47).

The pilgrim's burdened condition in the opening emblem is the beginning of an ongoing narrative preparation for the extremely important scene at the Cross (discussed earlier, 142-45) at which he is released from this burden. Christian later describes this release to Piety:

> I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the Tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back (for I groaned under a weary burden) but then it fell down from off me. (49)

Bunyan makes it clear that Christian's motivation for going on pilgrimage is, at the Cross, effectively transformed. By this experience of release from the "guilt, and burden" of sin (m.n. 28), a flight first motivated by fear of divine judgement for sin and carried on in the desire to be freed from a "weary burden," becomes a journey impelled by love. Piety's question, "And what is it that makes you so desirous to go to Mount

Zion?" is answered by Christian: "Why, *there I hope to see him alive, that did hang dead on the Cross . . . . For to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden" (50).

As with the theme of Christ's righteousness imputed to the believer, the theme of conviction and deliverance from its burden is here given pictorial and experiential development; it is then worked out in doctrinal terms in the discourses between Hopeful and Christian and between the two pilgrims and Ignorance. Under the influence of a Scripture-based conviction, Hopeful discovers that nothing that he does is untouched by his fallenness. He confesses, "[N]otwithstanding my former fond conceits of my self and duties, I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to Hell" (140). It is this conviction of sinfulness and the inability to deal, not merely with the outward manifestations of sin, but with its inner root, which drives Hopeful to get spiritual counsel and to "intreat upon my knees with all my heart and soul, the Father to reveal [Christ] to me" (141).

There is an important link between "the Book" in the man's hand at the beginning of TPP and "the burden" on his back. It is through reading the Book that he becomes aware of his sinfulness; Hill is at least partly correct when he notes, "The Pilgrim had acquired his burden by reading the Bible" (TS 213). But if a burdensome conviction of sin comes by way of the Book, so, too, come directions for salvation (*Christ and the way to him cannot be found without the Word, m.n. 10); and even more important, the promise of God's mercy extended to the one who comes to him. A whole clutch of marginal references backs up Christian's statement to Pliable that "the substance" of "the Book" is "If we be truly willing to have it [i.e., eternal life], he will bestow it upon us freely" (14). The marginal references adjacent to this statement are thematically linked, with texts from the Old and New Testaments expressing the invitation to the thirsty to "come and drink" clustered around the centrepiece verse from John 6:37: "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." This assemblage of texts comprising "*The Promises of forgiveness and acceptance to life by Faith in Christ" (m.n.,16) is probably intended to be recalled as the "Key . . . called Promise" that opens the doors and gates of Doubting-Castle (118).

In Hopeful's case, too, the Bible both brings about a sense of sinfulness and encourages him to find release. He lists a total of eight means by which his sins were brought to mind, including, "If I have heard any read in the Bible" (138). Faithful, Hopeful's spiritual mentor, "gave [him] a Book of Jesus his inditing to incourage me the more freely to come" (141). (In TPP 2, Christiana's experience of conviction occurs by means of dreams and remembrances, the Word being mediated to her by the life of her godly husband and by the emissary, Secret, who reveals the truth that "God [is] ready to forgive, and that he taketh delight to multiply pardon to offences. He also would have thee know that he inviteth thee to come into his presence, to his Table . . . " [179]. The Book which Christian reads as he runs and Hopeful studies becomes, in TPP 2, a hand-delivered "Letter . . . . from thy Husbands King" which Christiana is to read "to thy self and to thy Children, until you have got it by root-of-Heart" [180]). The "Book" functions both to bring about a knowledge of sinfulness and to inform the reader of God's merciful inclination and gracious invitation. It thus both produces the burden and provides means for relief from it.

The fourth of Bunyan's opening marginal references is to Habakkuk 2:2. This note serves a very complex function of reference and interpretation. Because it is somewhat different from the other four texts referred to in this "reference string," we will delay our discussion of it until after having taken up the fifth reference.

The fifth marginal reference adjacent to the opening paragraph serves to emphasize the central narrative question of the work.

> *I saw a Man [with] a Book in his hand* . . . and as he read, he wept and trembled: and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, **what shall I do?*

Act. 16.31.
And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.
*His Out-cry.

The marginal reference to Acts 16:31 annotates the first direct quotation of the book. The frozen emblem suddenly comes to life as the Man reads, weeps, trembles, tries to hold in his emotions, and finally is forced to utter "*His Out-cry." His question, "What shall I do?" is the narrative question, the question which the story as a whole sets out to answer. This narrative question sets the terms and conditions for the quest. A reader who cannot care about the Man or "*His Out-cry," can scarcely care about the events of the narrative except by reading them at an adventure story level or by appropriating the narrative to a different set of allegorical equivalencies from those set by Bunyan.

The specific text cited answers the question posed, in the wake of an prison-jolting earthquake, by a jailer at Philippi to the imprisoned missionaries, St. Paul and Silas, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" Their reply summarizes the gospel: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thy house" (Acts 16:30, 31). The marginal reference to the first paragraph is to the answer to the question (v. 31), rather than to the question itself (v. 30), coding for the reader who knows the Bible the whole of the question the man can scarcely frame and, in a very short and pointed form, its answer.

The marginal note, "*His Out-cry," both supplies a title to this question and, as a text-reflexive element, forces us to focus on the specific words of the cry as they occur within the narrative text. Again, the stunning integration of narrative and theology which Bunyan has achieved is evident. For in the first instance of asking this question, the Man with the Book does not even know how to frame his question.

"What must I do?" is the central question of all religion viewed from the human perspective; the implied answer would be a list of duties and deeds. But when this central narrative question is repeated just a few paragraphs later, the Man knows, by reading on his Book, a little more of what he needs to ask, and asks the question in a more complete form:

> Now, I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the Fields, that he was (as he was wont) reading in his Book, and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done
>
> before, crying, What shall I do to be

saved? (9)

Evangelist, the pilgrim's spiritual mentor, promises that the pilgrim's question will be answered by Good Will, the Keeper of the Gate, "at which when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do" (10). One should not overlook the paradox implied in the long-delayed answer which Christian finally receives to this question.

When Christian reaches the Wicket-Gate, he presents himself, saying: "*Evangelist bid me come hither and knock (as I did;) and he said, that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do." Good Will's answer, however, is not in terms of meritorious deeds to be done, but in terms of a journey to be taken. After some initial talk, Good Will (the allegorical impersonation of God's attitude of grace toward the sinner), gives an answer which implicitly corrects Christian's question:

> [C]ome a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. *Look before thee; doest thou see this narrow way? That is the way thou must go. It . . . is as straight as a Rule can make it: This is the way thou must go. (27, emphasis added)

The significance of this shift from "doing" to "going" is emphasized by the folkloric device of tripling, the answer which corrects the question repeated the requisite three times. The narrative question, "What must I do to be saved?" is to be answered not by something to do, but by a way to go; not by a sequence of penances or duties, but by living one's whole life in a God-ward and eternity-ward direction.

This paradox, that what one must do is not "do", is one which Ignorance, thinking religiously, cannot begin to grasp. He simply cannot accept that a person cannot do anything for his own salvation except to "fly" from God's wrath to his mercy. The centrepiece of Ignorance's theology is doing:

> I believe that Christ died for sinners, and that I shall be justified before God from the curse, through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his Law: Or thus, Christ makes my Duties that are Religious, acceptable to his Father by vertue of his Merits; and so shall I be justified. (147, emphasis added)

The theme of "doing" versus "going" is worked out in the discourse with Ignorance; the biblical reference to Acts 16:31 itself, like all the others which accompany the first paragraph of the book, is repeated in Hopeful's story. At the absolutely central and crucial discussion of the nature of saving faith, the reference reappears.

Christ is revealed to him, and how.

> One day I was very sad, I think sader then at any one time in my life; and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness and vileness of my sins: And as I was then looking for nothing but Hell, and the everlasting damnation of my Soul,

> suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon
>
> Act.16.30,31. me, and saying, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. (142-43)

The great revelation to Hopeful, as it had been to Christian before him, is that "believing and coming was all one," that all one can do is come. The narrative question which ends the first paragraph. "What shall I do?" is answered dramatically through the events of the narrative of Christian's journey and verbally in Hopeful's recounting of his own journey:

> From all which I gathered, that I must look for righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his blood; that what he did in obedience to his Fathers Law, and in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but for him that will accept it for his Salvation, and be thankful. And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears, and mine affections running over with love, to the Name, People, and Ways of Jesus Christ" (143).

The narrative question is at this point as fully answered as is possible: "Accept Christ's righteousness as a gift. Be thankful. Live out that gratitude in devotion ("affections running over with love, to the Name . . . of Jesus Christ"), fellowship ("affections running over with love, to the . . . People . . . of Jesus Christ"), and obedience in holiness of life ("affections running over with love, to the Ways of Jesus Christ").

The sign over the Gate of the Celestial City takes on its full significance both for the characters of the story and for its readers in the light of this revelation. The text under which the pilgrims enter eternal life is written in "Letters of Gold": "_Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the Tree of Life; and may enter in through the Gates into the City_" (161). When one _goes_ the pilgrim way, one discovers, at the end, that one has _done_ God's commandments. The whole story is written to convince the reader that it is impossible to "do" God's commandments apart from the imputed righteousness of Christ; but that in gratitude for that imputed righteousness, one lives a life which pleases God and fulfills his claims. Any legalistic attempt to _do_ those commands assumes quite inappropriately an innate ability to _do_ them. All that anyone who wants to pass through the Golden Gate can do, Bunyan argues in the whole of _TPP_, is to go the pilgrim way, actively seeking a revelation or spiritual illumination of the full meaning of Christ's self-offering in his death, and then to keep on going on in loving obedience and gratitude.[27]

We now turn to a consideration of the reference to Habakkuk 2 which, as we indicated above, serves a more complex function than the other annotations we have been considering. Like the other marginal references to the first paragraph, it identifies an element in the initial element, in this case, "the Book" the man is holding. Like the other notes, it sounds a central Reformation tenet. But this reference also serves to grant a special, prophetic authority to Bunyan in the writing of TPP. In its larger context and its later reference in

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[27] Dr. C. Q. Drummond has kindly made available to me part of a work-in-progress on "Believing and Coming in TPP." He also sees the passage we have cited from Hopeful's discourse as the heart of Bunyan's argument. But Drummond argues that while Bunyan seeks to give primacy to believing over coming, the structure of the story makes "believing depend on coming." He suggests that the narrative in effect offers a way by which eternal life (experienced in the present) can be gained by the deliberate, willed choice to "to live committed to an absolute goal . . . in a way that transvalues this world and makes us understand that we are not . . . owners of all that is" (7, 8).

But the "coming" which Bunyan identifies with "believing" is not contentless, to be filled with whatever "motion" the reader decides upon: it is a coming by way of the wicket-gate and the Cross, both metonymic images for Christ. No other way of "coming" (and Bunyan depicts several other means by which would-be pilgrims make spurious entry into "the way") leads to acceptance at the Celestial City. Neither Christian nor Hopeful gains eternal life by what they do, i.e., by setting out on a pilgrimage; rather, they willingly seek the spiritual illumination through the Word which transforms their views of self and life, and then act on the basis of that illumination.

TPP, it reflects on experiences of illumination or revelation. And it reflects on the experiences both of reading and writing. Here is the text juxtaposed with the narrative:

> I looked, and saw him open the Book, and Read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled. . .

Hab.2.2:
And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.

Like the other references adjacent to the first paragraph, the text which annotates this part of the emblem occurs again in Hopeful's discourse ("Habb.2.3," m.n. 142). In Hopeful's discourse, the "Habb.2.3" marginal note annotates a direct quotation within the narrative: *"If it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, and will not tarry*," a scriptural fragment which Hopeful applies as an encouragement to go on praying for the inward revelation of Christ: "So I continued Praying untill the Father shewed me his Son" (142).

A look at a slightly larger biblical context helps us understand the richness of these references. Specific textual citations, as we have noted before, bring with themselves a contextual surround with which the reader may be familiar or may become familiar.[28]

> [1] I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved. [2] And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it. [3] For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry. [4] Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faith. (Hab.2:1-4)

In its first use beside the opening paragraph, this reference functions as an interpretive key, identifying the Book in the emblem as God's word written, the prophecy which "came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (II Peter 1:21). It suggests the reason for God's granting his revelation to man: in order to prompt a response; to create "*Conviction of the necessity of flying" (10) to God for refuge. But the reference has, of course, another level of application to the text at hand, and that is as a general reference to the entire story, a dream-vision written in order to "make a Traveller" of the reader ("Apology," 6, 1.33), or, as Habakkuk puts it, "that he may run who reads it."

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[28] The paratextual surround of this passage in the AV with Tomson notes suggests how this passage would have been read by Bunyan and many of his original readers. "The Argument" of Habakkuk is summarized:

> The prophet complaineth unto God, considering the great felicity of the wicked, and the miserable oppression of the godly, which endure all kinde of affliction and cruelty, and yet can see none end . . . . And lest the godly should despair, seeing this horrible confusion, he comforteth them by this that God will punish the Caldeans their enemies, when their pride and crueltie shall be a height: wherefore he exhorteth the faithfull to patience . . . .

In the marginal notes to Habakkuk 2, a gloss paraphrases the opening of the first verse, "I will renounce mine own judgement, and only depend on God to be instructed what I shall answer them that abuse my preaching, and to be armed against all temptations." With such explanatory notes, Habakkuk 2 may well have been a popular text with the persecuted non-conformists of the Restoration period; Bunyan's personal fondness for it certainly becomes clear.

Taken as fragments or, more richly, in their larger context, these verses from the prophet Habakkuk are appropriated by Bunyan as authorization for writing theology in the dream-vision mode. And although he does not claim the divine inspiration of the prophet himself, Bunyan's demonstrated ability to appropriate scripture directly to himself would make it perfectly possible for him to find a parallel to his own writing activity in the writing of the prophet; the authorization received by Habakkuk ("the Lord answered me. . . Write the vision, and make it plain") would be "heard" by Bunyan as conferring on both his writing task and chosen mode (i.e., dream-vision), a kind of approval by analogy.

For the beginning reader, setting out on the task of "making out meaning" from the story, the text offers the encouragement to keep at the task of reading until the visualization of the scenes and their spiritual meanings become accessible, "[for] the vision . . . shall speak."

For the anxious, seeking reader, motivated by a desire to discover in himself signs of salvation, the passage, especially as cited in the Hopeful discourse, grants the reassurance that one might well, with Hopeful, have to wait for the inner revelation of Christ, but that "the vision will come."

The theme that it is not the proud but the humble who hear God's word and gain God's favour is struck in the last verse of the Habakkuk passage; while certainly over-materializing Bunyan's allegory, Hill and McKeon have, by their materialistic misreadings, at least helped us to see the degree to which TPP is a book by and about, as well as for, the poor and humble. The passage concludes with a sentence which sounds the great theme of the Reformation, as of Bunyan's own spiritual illumination: "the just shall live by his faith."[29]

The Habakkuk reference thus sounds a distinctive note with regard to the purpose and authority of this book and its central message while at the same time creating a curiously repeating mirrored figure, a sort of verbal equivalent of the trompe l'oeil of Renaissance paintings.[30] Not only is this the emblematic Man who will emerge from the freeze-frame of the first paragraph to become the energetic pilgrim of this story; one catches in this image and its marginal note a reflection of writers and readers before this text has been composed--Habakkuk, Old Testament prophet, as a synecdoche for all the writers of scripture, and the community of readers for whom he wrote; Bunyan himself, the newly-literate reader of the Bible, as we have encountered him in GA. Caught, too, in the repeating images of reading and writing is the reader himself, become a part of a historical succession of those who have read themselves in the Man with the Book. The "Man" with "a Book in his hand" effectively becomes a repeating image by which each reader becomes the man with the book in his hand reading about a man with a book in his hand reading about a man with a book in his hand.

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[29] Justification through faith in Jesus is the New Testament development of this phrase, St. Paul arguing that we are "justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," Christ's sacrificial atonement making it possible for God to "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus" (Romans 3:14, 16).

This mirror effect reflects not only back in time, but also back and forth between margin and narrative of the image of a Man and a Book, the picture shifting from prophet writing on tablets to imprisoned author writing out his story; from the reader of Habakkuk's prophecy, to the reader of the Book within the narrative, to the past and present readers of the narrative itself; the connection even made, tentatively but nonetheless rather audaciously, from the prophetic authority behind divinely inspired scripture to the inspiring impulse in Bunyan himself.

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[30] See, for example, the repeating mirrored image in Jan Van Eyck's painting, "Giavanni Arnolfini and His Wife, 1434." For discussion, see Mastai, 83-86.

In the opening paragraph of TPP, the references in the margins function in all the complex ways which we have discussed earlier (see above, Chapter 3). They interpret, index, and refer. They connect text and the biblical intertext and intensify the narrative by forcing attention to specific elements. The scripture passages to which the references direct the reader represent the whole range of literature in the Bible, and are organized not unlike the "lessons" in the liturgy, with readings from Old and New Testaments, the Gospels, and the Psalms. This initial "reference chain" is extremely rich in its amplification of the allusive adjacent text. The references here do not merely annotate words quoted within the text, but rather lead to, or cue in aurally by memory, scriptures which explain the allegorical symbolism and equivalences, thus introducing the method of interpretation by which the reader is to understand the entire dream-vision. It sounds the main "Gospel-strains" which will form the melodic line of the entire book: man's ragged, burdened condition before salvation, the absolute priority of the claims of the spiritual over emotional or physical attachments, the significance of the Word and of words to the experience of salvation, and salvation offered through faith in Jesus Christ.

Properly "heard" and responded to, these marginal references add immeasurably to the richness of the opening paragraph. They serve the double function of concealing and revealing. In using such cryptic signifiers to elucidate and enrich his meaning, Bunyan speaks like the Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains through whom "_Secrets are reveal'd,/Which from all other men are kept conceal'd_" (123). For the reader who neither knows the scriptures nor chooses to become acquainted with them, much of the meaning of the text, here and throughout the work, will remain a mystery. For the biblically literate reader or the one who will take the trouble to follow the intertextual leads in the margins, there is a rich opening out of the text. As with Bunyan's other narratives, the keys to the book are not handed to just anyone, but are there, available, "in the window," for any reader who is serious about exploring the richness of the work.

CONCLUSION

Have we over-privileged the margins in our readings of Bunyan's narratives? I hope not. But perhaps any literary element which has been so long ignored deserves to be foregrounded, if only to be sure that from now on, any reading of Bunyan must take into account the marginal notes as well as the narrative.

If the work of this study has been to any degree successful, it will open up some new questions for those who read Bunyan. In particular, it might suggest that, at least for the most careful readers, it is time for there to be some "readings in" Bunyan instead of merely paraphrastic and schematic "readings of" him. Bunyan's prose style is so direct and plain, and his marginal notes so effectively open out planes of meaning beyond the narrative itself, that his work is worthy of the kind of close attention that has, so far, usually been accorded only to poets.

I hope, too, that this work will demonstrate that Bunyan is only accessible through understanding of the ways in which he knew and used the Bible: as a literary and imaginational backdrop to life, as a central nexus of truth and meaning. As Bunyan saw there to be no way to the Celestial City except by the wicket-gate of faith in

Christ, so I suggest there is no way into serious Bunyan scholarship except by way of the Bible. To help in accomplishing this end of more detailed and careful readings in Bunyan, the development of a concordance to his works, including his non-narrative works, should become a priority.

This study should certainly aid in challenging notions, carried forward from the scornful Augustans, that Bunyan and his readers were somehow crude and semi-literate. I hope we have seen that the subtlety is so great that it has largely eluded erudite critics and, perhaps, has more often been accessible to the "plain man" who bought and read Bunyan side by side with the Bible. Ongoing work in the history of literacy is continuously enlarging our concept of what and how the "plain man" read. The apparently sudden appearance of an audience for the English novel cannot be so easily explained as it once was; far from being a result of secularization, it seems in fact to be a result of widespread literacy brought about through religious reading. More work in the history of literacy will enable us to understand better the reception given to particular works, including the phenomenal popularity of TPP.

Other critics may wish to trace the ways in which, after Bunyan, what had at one time been marginal notes were incorporated into text in the form of authorial comment; the specific literary outcroppings of paratextual apparatus in such things as the mock-serious footnotes to Tristram Shandy and the marginal notes to Finnegans Wake may also be re-evaluated. Why, after Bunyan, does the use made of paratextual apparatus to fictional texts become parodic? How has the tradition of authorial comment reflected historic attitudes towards text production and consumption?

Bunyan's narratives are also ripe for narratological investigation of such aspects as narrator, inset narratives, and narratees. Marginal notes draw attention to the authorial presence, the persona in which the author speaks directly to the reader or comments directly on the work itself. Strangely enough, Bunyan may well be an author whose time has come (again), as readers become familiar with the "narcissistic novels" of post-modernism, with their self-consciousness about the process of fiction-making as well as the process of fiction-reading, with the author again speaking within the text, inviting the reader into a collaboration of the imagination. As such conventions become familiar once again, the distance between the twentieth-century readerly approach and that demanded by Bunyan's works may shrink, making Bunyan less formidable, less "foreign" to a new set of readers.

The single reason why Bunyan ought to be attended to in all the ways at our command is that he is a great story-teller with a great theme, one of that select (or elect) few whose values, convictions, and genius all fuse into some great art form. If Milton stands as a sort of grand synthesis of the classical and biblical literary traditions, Bunyan stands as an equally significant synthesis of the popular and biblical traditions. These two great Puritan writers share the same air, the same theologically informed world-view, and the same need to create in the realm of the imagination what was not possible to create in the realm of realpolitik. In their work, and in the enormous influence each casts across the centuries of writing after them, Milton on the development of poetry and Bunyan on the development of English prose story-telling, the final great fruition of the English Reformation and Renaissance can be seen.

Milton's work has long been seriously attended to in critical reading. It is my hope that this study has suggested the seriousness with which Bunyan's art and thought deserves to be taken, and that others will follow its lead into close readings which reckon fully with the significance of the narrative and the commentary alongside, thus helping to move Bunyan's works from the margins of literary critical discussion to the central place which they deserve.

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